



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-215
Tuesday
6 November 1990

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-215

CONTENTS

6 November 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi

Official Tells Rwandan Mayor Border 'Secure' [Bujumbura Radio] 1

Central African Republic

Analyst Views Impact of National Strikes [Bangui Radio] 1

Congo

Sassou-Nguesso Receives OAU Secretary General [AFP] 2

Government Closes Schools, Brazzaville University [Brazzaville Radio] 2

Communique Issued [Brazzaville Radio] 2

Gabon

Eight Parties Win Seats in National Assembly [PANA] 2

Rwanda

Fighting Reportedly Continues in Gatuna Region [Kigali Radio] 3

Rebels Said To Withdraw [AFP] 3

Minister Says 50,000 Cattle Stolen by Rebels [Kigali Radio] 3

Opposition in Exile Offers To Mediate in Crisis [AFP] 3

Zaire

Opposition 'Worried' About 'Stalled Situation' [AFP] 4

* Human Rights League Details Recent Violations [ELIMA 8-9 Oct] 4

* 'Serious' Rift in Mobutu's MPR Reported [ELIMA 15-16 Oct] 6

Reportage on President Mobutu's Visit to Egypt [cross-reference] 8

EAST AFRICA

Kenya

Transport Minister Meets British Aid Official [KNA] 9

Official Says Foreigners 'Indulging' in Affairs [KENYA TIMES 5 Nov] 9

* Moi, Opponents Continue Verbal Battle 9

* Church Leaders Attacked [DAILY NATION 29 Sep] 9

* Moi Warns 'Tribalists' [DAILY NATION 30 Sep] 10

* Prelates Reject Charges [DAILY NATION 29 Sep] 11

* Kuria Rules Out Testimony [KENYA TIMES 8 Oct] 12

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

De Klerk Calls for Defeat for CP in Randburg [SAPA] 14

Minister Views ANC Campaign 'With Concern' [SAPA] 14

Pik Botha Invited To Lusaka 'Prayer Meeting' [Johannesburg Radio] 15

De Beer Says Political Shift 'Destructive' [SAPA]	15
BCMA Chairman Calls for 'Land Seizure' [SOWETAN 5 Nov]	15
ANC Demands Release of Operation Vula Detainees [Johannesburg TV]	16
Guerrillas Reportedly 'On Stand-by' in Transkei [Umtata Radio]	17
ANC Criticizes 'Civil Protection Units' Plan [SAPA]	17
COSATU Demands Bophuthatswana Reincorporation [Umtata Radio]	18
Police Say Infiltration by Spies 'Low Level' [SAPA]	18
Sports Officials 'Happy' With Progress at Harare [Johannesburg Radio]	18
Editorial on Return of MK, State Actions [SUNDAY STAR 4 Nov]	18
ANC 'Running Out of Money,' Membership 'Stalls' [SUNDAY STAR 4 Nov]	19

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Trade Minister, Central Bank Governor Dismissed [Luanda Radio]	20
UNITA Allegedly Attacks Convoy, Kills Six [Luanda Radio]	20
Bie Province Workers Sabotage Power Lines [KUP]	20

Madagascar

* French Language Reinstated in Classrooms [MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE 20 Sep]	20
--	----

Malawi

* Mozambique Refugee Wave Strains Economy [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE 5 Oct] ..	21
* Danish Aid May End Over Human Rights Record [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN 12 Oct]	23

Mozambique

Chissano Closes Assembly's Special Session [Maputo Radio]	23
Discusses Police Role [Maputo Radio]	27
Chissano Departs for Lusaka Meeting 6 Nov [Maputo Radio] ..	28
Soviet Ambassador Reaffirms Continued Support [Maputo Radio]	28
Further Comments on Rejection of Constitution [Johannesburg International]	28
* Threat of Famine in Marromeu Announced [NOTICIAS 12 Oct]	28
* Funding Delays Limpopo Corridor Project [NOTICIAS 2 Oct]	29
* Financial Crisis Threatens Coal Enterprise [NOTICIAS 5 Oct]	30
* Rural Exodus to Cities Increases in Zambezia [NOTICIAS 6 Oct]	30
* German Group To Aid Nampula Displaced Persons [NOTICIAS 9 Oct]	31
* Challenges Facing Land Reform Program [TEMPO 16 Sep]	32

Seychelles

* 'Hard Times' Predicted as Result of Gulf Crisis [SEYCHELLES NATION 4 Oct]	34
* Increased Indian Cooperation Reported [SEYCHELLES NATION 1 Oct]	34

Zambia

Tembo Discusses Political, Economic Situation [London International]	35
--	----

Zimbabwe

State Not To Take Land From 'Productive' Farmers [SAPA]	36
Government Lacks Funds for Resettlement Program [Johannesburg Radio]	36

WEST AFRICA

Benin

Soglo Warns Journalists 'Seeking To Destroy Him' [London International]	37
---	----

Ivory Coast

Human Rights League Denounces Arrest of Activists [AFP]	37
Group Urges Teachers Union Congress in Dec [IVOIRE DIMANCHE 2-8 Nov]	37

Liberia

Nimley Flees; Johnson, AFL, ECOMOG Accord [London International]	38
--	----

Niger

Five-Day General Strike Launched 5 November [AFP]	39
'Largely Observed' in Niamey [PANA]	39

Nigeria

* Five Basins To Boost Oil, Gas Production [DAILY TIMES 9 Oct]	39
--	----

Senegal

Evacuees Return From Liberia via Guinea [PANA]	40
* Government Policy Leaves Education 'Adrift' [FAGARU Sep]	40
* Presence of French Press Criticized [WAL FADJRI 24-30 Aug]	42
Reportage on President Diouf's Visit to Egypt [cross-reference]	43

Burundi

Official Tells Rwandan Mayor Border 'Secure'

EA0411202690 Bujumbura Domestic Service
in French 1115 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Excerpts] The mayor of the Muyira commune, Butare Prefecture militant (Adelbert Muhutu), yesterday made a working visit to Bugabira commune, Kirundo Province. The BURUNDI NEWS AGENCY correspondent in Kirundo, Deo Ndayisenga has the details.

[Begin Ndayisenga recording] The purpose of the visit was to strengthen the friendship and good neighborliness between the communes of Bugabira and Muyira. It was also an opportunity for the Muyira mayor to throw more light on the events in Rwanda.

After crossing the Akanyaru at 1100, the Rwandan delegation was met by the Bugabira administrator, Mr. Jean Karekezi, accompanied by civil servants and businessmen of his commune. [passage omitted]

Referring to the recent events in northeastern Rwanda, Administrator Jean Karekezi affirmed that the border between Bugabira and Muyira was secure, stressing that in conformity with the Burundi Government's position and policy of good neighborliness, no destabilizing aggression or action aimed against Rwanda could be carried out from the land of Bugabira.

The Bugabira administrator also explained the political program in progress which would finally lead to the setting up of democratic institutions born out of the [word indistinct] spirit of the charter of national unity currently being discussed.

Replying, the Muyira mayor, militant (Adelbert Muhutu), briefed the people of Bugabira in detail on the recent October hostilities and the aims of the assailants. He hailed the policy of good neighborliness which guaranteed security on the border between Rwanda and Burundi. He called on the people of Bugabira to revitalize exchanges of visits with the people of Muyira. He took the opportunity to invite the Bugabira administrator for an official [word indistinct] Muyira.

During the working session at end of the visit, Mayor (Adelbert Muhutu) of Muyira answered various questions from the Bugabira civil servants to cast more light on the origins and evolution of the Rwandan October hostilities and the situation of Rwandan refugees.

Central African Republic

Analyst Views Impact of National Strikes

AB0511170290 Bangui Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Clement Thierry Guigo's "Weekly Chronicle" program]

[Text] On 31 December last year, the president advised the Central African people that 1990 would not only be replete

with questions and anxieties but also full of hope and opportunities. We are witnesses now to a world in upheaval. We, on our part, have championed the course of freedom by establishing a state subscribing to the rule of law. It behooves every Central African to accord it—through their sense of civic responsibility—its real content which reflects our cultural identity and boosts our efficiency.

Indeed, through this speech, the Central African people understood the choice that had to be made—that of a democracy which reflects its specific cultural identity. This democracy, which is (?communal) pluralism, is democracy first and foremost—in other words, it demands respect for the laws decided by the majority and governing combining the functioning of a state subscribing to the rule of law and our personality.

The unleashing of unfortunate events in the second half of October 1990 in our capital, Bangui, and the virtually blind strike which is currently suffocating our civil service are, without doubt, part of the questions and anxieties predicted by the president. Rather than half-heartedly dress in borrowed clothes, the Central African Republic should strive to resist, while placing its faith in the future—for, the president's analysis is essentially economic citing the fall in raw material prices imposed from outside, the unfavorable terms of trade, Africa's indebtedness, and the famine, malnutrition, and epidemics often associated with our continent.

In the face of all these crises, President Andre Kolingba sent out a message of hope. He believes in the maturity and personality of his people and their ability to resolve this kind of crisis whatsoever in peace, dialogue, consultation, and brotherhood by putting above everything else the supreme interest of the Central African Republic.

Is it wrong to state that the recourse to strikes is heading toward becoming a general blockade which some people want to impose on us? [Word indistinct] it may be said that God continues to bless the Central African Republic, especially when one knows that certain (?butcher shops) in the capital were contacted by certain trade unions in order that these butchers—whose high sense of national consciousness and responsibility we salute today and who refused to take part in the dance of death—would also strike. For them, contributing to the building of the new Central African society today means fighting for nonviolence and pursuing one's economic activities in the general interest by turning up daily to sell at our markets. For them once more, the freedom to live—as is required by any form of democracy—does not mean preventing those who want to work to do so. It means contributing one's widow's mite everyday to the country's progress, in order that the Central African ship of state may continue to sail in the direction of progress [words indistinct], for as the saying goes: After the rain, comes the sunshine.

In other words, by giving a real content which reflects our cultural identity, and our personality in managing a crisis;

by placing our trust in our democratic institutions which emanate from the people and are therefore the will of the majority; and, finally, by exercising patience, we will be able to win the gamble of progress for the well-being of the people. Otherwise, who [words indistinct] our cause, or furthermore, which donor will dare to help us out of the crisis if he happens to discover that we are making no contribution ourselves to the progress of our country, by indulging in strikes. In other words, the Central African Republic can succeed only with the government.

Congo

Sassou-Nguesso Receives OAU Secretary General

AB0511142490 Paris AFP in French 1145 GMT
5 Nov 90

[Text] Brazzaville, 5 Nov (AFP)—OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim was received yesterday by Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso with whom he discussed the Liberian and Rwandan conflicts, an official source disclosed today. The discussions took place at Oyo, President Sassou-Nguesso's hometown located some 400 km north of Brazzaville. They also centered on the democratization process under way in Africa, the same source stated.

Salim Ahmed Salim arrived in Brazzaville on Saturday, 3 November, on a four-day official visit at the invitation of the Congolese Government. This visit is his first to Congo since his election as OAU secretary general.

Government Closes Schools, Brazzaville University

AB0511163690 Brazzaville Domestic Service
in French 1600 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Pupils and students in Brazzaville have been forced to go on vacation today because schools and the university in the capital were closed this morning following a strike by teachers who are demanding improvements in their living and working conditions.

Faced with this situation, the government of the Republic has reacted by ordering the immediate closure of schools and the university faculties. Meanwhile, the government calls on all parents to see to the security of their children by keeping them away from all areas of disturbances and agitation.

Classes will resume normally whenever law and order as well as the security of people and property become normal again.

Communique Issued

AB0511214090 Brazzaville Domestic Service
in French 1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Forced holidays for Brazzaville students. Schools and colleges have been closed this morning following a strike by teachers who have been asking for improvement of their living standards and working conditions.

In the face of this situation, the government has reacted by ordering the temporary closure of the capital's schools and colleges. Here is the content of the press communique issued by the government this morning.

Over the past few weeks, scenes of violence and looting were observed in some of the country's urban centers, Pointe-Noire, Loubomo, (Moussindjo), and (Tibiti). They were started by student movements. In each one of these towns, local authorities, in agreement with the government, have closed schools temporarily so as to deprive the troublemakers of any justification and protect students against any manipulation.

This morning, a similar attempt to disrupt classes at schools and colleges in Brazzaville took place. Security forces rapidly took control of the situation and prevented the usual scenario of looting and acts of vandalism from unraveling.

Consequently the government has decided to close the capital's schools and colleges temporarily. It urgently calls on parents of students to look after the security of their children by keeping them away from trouble spots or disturbances. Classes will resume normally when conditions for order and security for people and property are met.

Issued in Brazzaville on 5 November 1990. Signed, the Government.

However, it is appropriate to say that students are the major losers, because at this rate, it will be difficult for them to complete the various programs even though make-up courses will be organized for them.

Gabon

Eight Parties Win Seats in National Assembly

AB0511215090 Dakar PANA in English
1755 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Libreville, 5 Nov (AGP-GAB/PANA)—Eight political parties are to be represented in Gabon's first multiparty parliament since independence in 1960, ending the total monopoly of the former ruling political party, the Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG). The parties are the PDG, the Morena (Bucherons [Lumberjacks]), Gabonese Party for Progress (PGP), Morena (Original), the Union for Socialism in Gabon (APSG), the Gabonese Socialist Union (USG), the Circle for Renovation and Progress (CRP) and the Union for Democracy and Development (UDD).

Voting in the last three of the 120-seat National Assembly took place Sunday in Mayumba and Moabi, southern Gabon, enabling the former sole political party (PDG) to snatch one more seat and to increase its representation to 63 deputies.

The novel element in the polling Sunday was however the unexpected one seat victory by the Union for Democracy and Development in Mayumba, bringing the number of

parties in the next Gabonese parliament to eight. The party had failed to win a seat in the previous two rounds.

The other interesting aspect was the election in Moabi of Prof. Pierre Kombila, who had ignored a boycott call made by the Bucherons' leader, Fr. Mba Abesole on 21 October. To aggravate matters for the reverend, a meeting of the Morena steering committee in Libreville decided that the elected Bucheron deputies should participate in the next general assembly, which is expected to hold its first session in the next few days.

With Prof. Kombila's election, the Bucherons have become the first major opposition party with 20 seats, followed by the PGP with 18. The others are: Morena Original (7), the APSG (6) while the CRP and the UDD have one each.

Rwanda

Fighting Reportedly Continues in Gatuna Region

*EA0511203590 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 5 Nov 90*

[Text] In our country, the war continues in the Gatuna region of northern Rwanda. After 30 days of fighting in the Mutara region from 1-30 October, which ended in a bitter defeat for the aggressors, the assailants have again attacked our country from the Gatuna border post. The current attack is primarily characterized by acts of barbarity and vandalism, as noted by our permanent regional correspondent in the Byumba region, (Florent Kambaiana):

[Begin (Kambaiana) recording] In Gatuna, where residents refused to collaborate with the aggressors—apart from a few marginal cases such as bandits who wanted to exploit the chaos—the inkotanyi [rebels] perpetrated acts of violence. This very morning, in the (Mukono) and (Murore) sectors, hostilities were directed against the local population. The assailants started beating peasants to death, raping women, and looting shops. They are using young people as shields to facilitate penetration. The assailants continue, however, to come up against the impassable wall of our armed forces. (Florent Kambaiana), Byumba. [end recording]

Rebels Said To Withdraw

*AB0611084490 Paris AFP in English 0230 GMT
6 Nov 90*

[Text] Gatuna, Rwanda, Nov 5 (AFP)—Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels pulled out of Gatuna on Sunday night, leaving two smouldering trucks behind them, but the border post was otherwise deserted on Monday afternoon as government troops had not moved in. Eight trucks were stranded and set on fire after rebels raided the town on Saturday. Hundreds of refugees fled into Uganda from Rwanda. One woman who arrived from Ruchwizi said she had seen scores of dead bodies on her way to Uganda.

Tea plantation workers said they had seen 40 bodies of soldiers and villagers killed in the attack scattered around Kaniga, some six kilometres (four miles) inside Rwanda. At the customs post, office windows were shattered and floors littered with files and papers. Near the accommodation areas for customs personnel the bodies of three soldiers were rotting and about 20 metres (yards) away another two corpses, one of them a civilian, were swarmed with flies. According to Ugandan soldiers guarding the border, a Rwanda war plane overflew the area on Sunday and shortly after, heavy artillery shelling places inside Rwanda was heard. [sentence as received]

Minister Says 50,000 Cattle Stolen by Rebels

*EA0511201290 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1115 GMT 5 Nov 90*

[Summary] The assailants from Uganda have stolen over 50,000 cattle belonging to the Mutara development project. James Gasana, the minister of agriculture and animal husbandry, told the RWANDAN NEWS AGENCY on 3 October that the cattle were Ankole, a breed which was to be replaced by a more productive one. He reported this on arrival from Abidjan, where he had held talks with the African Development Bank [ADB] on the financing of the Mutara project. He said the ADB had agreed to assist Rwanda in rehabilitating the Mutara project, which has been damaged by the assailants from Uganda.

Opposition in Exile Offers To Mediate in Crisis

*AB0611090090 Paris AFP in English 0355 GMT
6 Nov 90*

[Text] Montreal, Nov 5 (AFP)—The exiled leader of the opposition Rwandan National Union (UNAR) said Monday the group was prepared to mediate peace talks between the Kigali government and Patriotic Front rebels. Claude Rukeba, the exiled leader of the UNAR, said his group could accelerate the peace process in Rwanda on behalf of the refugees who have been displaced by the country's ethnic fighting. He said some two million refugees—most of them members of the minority Tutsi tribe—had fled to neighboring countries in the past 30 years. Hutus dominate the Kigali regime.

The Rwandan Government Thursday claimed victory over the rebel Patriotic Front, which invaded from Uganda September 30. The Hutus fear the Tutsi—ousted in 1959—would reimpose minority rule if they has power again. UNAR, exiled since 1965, does not side with the Patriotic Front because of its use of violence. Mr. Rukeba also called for holding an international conference on the issue and for troops from Belgium, France, and Zaire to leave Rwanda.

Zaire

Opposition 'Worried' About 'Stalled Situation'

AB0411220090 Paris AFP in English 1856 GMT
4 Nov 90

[Text] Kinshasa, Nov 4 (AFP)—Some 40 opposition parties and groups in Zaire on Sunday expressed concern over the political situation in the country. In a joint statement, they said they were "very worried by the present stalled situation" which they said was hindering the democratisation process.

They accused the government of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko of seeking to create "a climate of dangerous tension to justify the taking back of that bit of democratic freedom won by the people in the last six months." The parties pledged to create "the conditions for a dynamic new stage in the process of putting in place the institutions of a new republic."

They also warned that they would boycott a conference of French-speaking countries scheduled to take place in Kinshasa in 1991 "if the democratic process begun in Zaire does not follow its normal course."

The opposition parties demanded the "immediate" reform of laws relating to the setting up of political parties, and laid down a timetable for political and constitutional reform. Marshal Mobutu has agreed to allow the setting up of democratic institutions, but indicated that he intends to remain in power, which he seized in November 1965.

Nsinga Udjuu, chairman of the former sole ruling party, the Popular Movement for Renewal, meanwhile said the party would give its unconditional support to Marshal Mobutu in a presidential election scheduled to take place at the end of 1991. Mr. Nsinga also said that the present political climate in Zaire was marked by "a very dangerous verbal violence provoked by the political leaders of the opposition."

*** Human Rights League Details Recent Violations**

91AF0107A Kinshasa ELIMA in French
8-9 Oct 90 pp 2, 5

[Text] On Monday, 1 October 1990, the Zairian Human Rights League published its first report on the state of liberties in Zaire.

This document covers the period from June to September 1990.

The first part of the aforementioned report provides an introduction to the league, its objectives, the difficulties it has encountered in the field, and its resources. The second part is the most important, comprising eight chapters that describe the league's field activities in defense of freedom. It describes the different cases that have occupied the league since its creation.

The first chapter, "Right to Life, Liberty, and Personal Security," discusses five cases.

First, the student massacre on Lubumbashi University campus. On this issue, the league, which is continuing its investigation, has come to two partial conclusions: First, there truly was a premeditated massacre, planned and executed by professionals from outside the Shaba region; and second, the authorities have taken deliberate action to prevent a clear light from being shed on this crime (hiding of the cadavers, precipitous repair of the campus by military authorities, pressure exercised on affected families, etc.). One piece of evidence remains: several dozen students were killed in the carnage of 11 May 1990.

Next, the death of student Inonga Nkoy of the Mbandaka Institute of Higher Pedagogy. This biology student was killed by blows and wounds administered to him by the Mbandaka garrison gendarmes after the student demonstrations in that community, a bad ending.

Another case, the Civil Guard raid on 15 July on the Mokali quarter of Kinshasa/Kimbanseke. Several cases of disappearances, robberies, and injuries were recorded among the ranks of UDPS [Union for Democracy and Social Progress] militants living in that quarter.

Fourth case, the disappearance of striking government workers at Bandundu. Taken by ANI [National Immigration Agency] agents on 28 July and transferred to Kinshasa, Mssrs. Musinga and Mwanza, who are suspected of being strike leaders, have not been seen since.

Finally, the Civil Guard police's murder of Mr. Mwimba Kalenga, a citizen of the Kenya Zone in Lubumbashi, on 11 September.

The second chapter, which discusses arbitrary arrests, tortures, and police violence, describes the activities of the Civil Guard's Special Presidential Division (DSP), the Gendarmerie, the courts and the tribunals. Ten cases are discussed.

First, the case of Mrs. Mbuyu Kasongo, 50, a woman who spent several days arbitrary detention, tortured and subjected to degrading and humiliating acts in the DSP dungeon. She was imprisoned at the order of Mrs. Kwadeba Movoto, a relative of the chief of state.

Then, the arrest of the striking government workers who several times were "lodged" in the Zairian Armed Forces Urban Conscription (CIRCO) dungeon in the city of Kinshasa and at the Makala central prison in July and August 1990, at the verbal orders of the Minister of Public Works.

Another case, the arbitrary and prolonged detention of the Reverend Brother Digekisa, a theology student at Lubumbashi University. Accused of requesting political asylum through certain foreign consultants in Lubumbashi, this student, who was included on the list of people to be shot the night of 11-12 May, is still being held without trial in Pavilion 8 of Makala prison.

There is also the case of the arbitrary arrest and kidnapping of Mr. Kyony Kya Mukende, Shaba Provincial Deputy and reporter to the Shaba Regional Association's committee investigating the bloody events at Lubumbashi. The police have confiscated the Shaba Regional Assembly's investigation report, which questioned certain statements by the National Assembly committee.

Lumumbist militants were arrested on 21 June and imprisoned without trial for participating in a peaceful and silent march.

Other cases concern police brutality and violent repression of high school and university student demonstrations.

The most flagrant examples are the throwing into jail of several students from the National Pedagogical Institute (IPN) who organized, in their own fashion, a funeral for one of their fellow students who died in mid-July, as well as the abuse of several high school students who demonstrated on 13-14 September to call for the reopening of classes closed by the teachers strike.

This chapter also relates the arrest of Zairian students in Cameroon on 25 April 1990 at the instigation of the Zairian Consulate in Douala.

The penultimate case is that of the disappearance of Miss Kamunga Mwimpe Nicole, an architecture student who disappeared two years ago after a history of conjugal rivalry with a female Minister.

Finally, the last case, that of the arbitrary detentions of several hundred arrested, who continue to stagnate in the republic's dungeons and prisons, in violation of all the laws of human rights and of humanity. Several cases in which prisoners continue to be subjected to torture and degrading treatment have been denounced.

The third chapter, involving "Freedom of Opinion and Free Speech," discusses five cases that violate the essential freedom of the press.

First, the repressive measures against the Zairian Television journalists who on 11 May 1990 signed a grievance letter addressed to the Minister of Information and the President of the Republic.

There is also the case of the illegal searches organized at the end of June and beginning of July in Kinshasa by the civilian police looking for subversive documents. This has given way to abuse in the form of confiscation of money and magazines.

The reprisals against the weekly LA SEMAINE, characterized by the expulsion at the end of July of Mr. Jean Francois David, a Haitian businessman, and his Dutch assistant, for providing assistance to the aforementioned weekly, is another example of violation of the freedom of expression, which has been made known to the League.

The same with the ransacking of the daily ELIMA on 28 August by a commando force of some 100 people calling

themselves a group of "young unconditional Mobutuists," and led by a certain Bolamba Moogo Agongu.

Finally, the closing at the beginning of September of the newspapers NZOI and LA PATRIE.

Chapter four deals with "Freedom of Association."

First there is the controversial law on the organization and functioning of political parties, denounced by the league. It appears to be a custom-tailored text by the authorities and offering no guarantees for the organization of loyal and observable elections in our country.

The harassment of opposition political parties is a violation of the freedom of association, and the bloody invasion of UDPS headquarters on its inauguration day, shortly after 24 April, by soldiers of the Civil Guard, is an illustration of it.

Then there are the arrests, intimidations, threats, and kidnapping attempts against the leaders of certain political parties.

To close the chapter, the Bolamba case with his real name—Hubert Mbula—self-proclaimed in mid-August as president of the national directorate of the MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution], the former party-state that attempted to engage in urban terrorism activities. The man walked around Kinshasa for several days with revolvers at his belt and surrounded by armed bodyguards, creating a justified panic.

The fifth chapter, "Freedom of Religion and Worship," begins with a note of optimism: freedom of religion has been progressively restored in our country.

The religion course has been reestablished for the 1990-91 school year and the Muslim community has been authorized to create the first Islamic university.

But two black stains remain. First, the persecution of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Deprived of their freedom of worship since March 1986, members of that religious persuasion in Bandundu and Haut-Zaïre are subjected to persecution and degrading treatment. Then, the illegal expulsion from Zaïre of Rev. Fr. Guy Verhaegen, 53, a Belgian missionary who had lived in Zaïre for 35 years.

The sixth chapter examines "The Right to a Reasonable Standard of Living." The point made is that Zairians have suffered a continual slide in their standard of living. The safety valve has exploded: there are strikes in every area of the national economy. Leaders of the strike movement are arrested and detained, and salaries of some union officials are confiscated.

The seventh chapter, "Freedom of Movement," is a bitter statement in a country where, in addition to the two obligatory exit visas imposed upon citizens who wish to travel abroad, movements within the country's territory are strictly watched by the police services. Three cases are discussed.

First, the restricted freedom of travelers to the Congo.

Then, the case of Mr. Jean Nguz A Karl-I-Bond's interception on 24 August 1990 at N'Djili Airport, where he was awaiting a plane for Brussels.

The third example discusses several cases of arbitrary expulsions, such as that of Mr. Jean Francois David, businessman; his Dutch colleague; and Fr. Guy Verhaegen.

The last chapter of the second part of the report on the state of liberties in Zaire concerns the right to property, which has been violated many times in our country. Scandals of the "Zairianization" genre have permitted political authorities and other state cadres to appropriate for themselves goods and property belonging to various foreigners, and this has contributed to the destruction of the national economic fabric.

The case discussed in detail by the league is that of the confiscation of private schools by the state. Even today certain private parties in Shaba call for the return of their schools, which have belonged to the state since 1973.

* 'Serious' Rift in Mobutu's MPR Reported

91AF0133A Kinshasa ELIMA in French
15-16 Oct 90 pp 1, 8-9

[Article by Essolomwa Nkoy ea Linganga: "Serious Crisis in MPR [People's Movement of the Revolution]"; first paragraph is ELIMA introduction]

[Vunduaawe leaves the party, taking his allies with him. N'Singa is thinking and will disclose his position this week. The integral multiparty system: is it a plot against the opposition?]

Certainly, the MPR's troubles are not over yet. The demon division and discord, which was thought to have been exorcised for good, is resurfacing with the new situation that was just generated in the MPR.

Indeed, only a few weeks after the ostentatious reconciliation between Mr. N'Singa Udjuu Ongwakebi Untube, then chairman of the interim national board of the People's Movement for Renewal (the party created on 30 August 1990 at the Okapi Hotel in Kinshasa); and Mr. Vunduaawe Te Femako, spokesman for the Renewal Group of the (original) MPR—a reconciliation whose aim was to revive the MPR—Mr. Vunduaawe just slammed the door. He thus leaves the MPR, taking all his allies with him.

Will Professor Vunduaawe's departure mark the start of a new exodus of MPR militants? That is difficult to say. What is certain, however, is that the MPR will experience a crisis that cannot fail to rock its structures. The MPR has not lost its determination, far from it.

This is all the more true since, hardly one month after the official reconciliation of the two "brother enemies," i.e., N'Singa and Vunduaawe, their union is shattered. In spite of the fact that, at the time of their reconciliation,

they had promised to forget their rivalries and personal quarrels in order to start the MPR on the road to success, thanks to its regained uniqueness.

In order to understand the convulsions that affect the MPR, we must go back in time and look at all the incidents that surrounded the "launching" of the party, and take into account the chief of state's speeches of 24 April, 3 May, and 30 June 1990 as well as the promulgation of the revised constitution and the law on political parties, which put an end to the political and constitutional existence of the MPR as a party-state.

Considering that the MPR's progress, after 24 April 1990, took place on a background of manipulations, intrigues and schemes of all kinds, there was no reason to expect a serene future for this political formation.

It was with full knowledge of all these elements that a group of men and women, meeting on 30 August 1990 at the Okapi Hotel in a constituent assembly, created the People's Movement for Renewal, a party that had nothing to do with the MPR, the party-state, and chose as interim chairman of its national board N'Singa Udjuu Ongwakebi Untube, the very man who, on 26 April 1990, had been nominated to head the board of the MPR, the defunct party-state, in order to work out the final structures of the defunct party.

As could be expected, the creation of the People's Movement for Renewal did not fail to give rise to diverse reactions.

Indeed, while Mr. N'Singa and the other members of the People's Movement for Renewal were working out the structures of their political party, Mr. Vunduaawe was setting up the Renewal Group of the (original) MPR. This group was not a political party, but rather a team of militants, MPR members who, in view of the party founder's decision to give up the MPR leadership, thought the time had come to shoulder their responsibilities for fighting illegality and save the party from lethargy.

In his mission to renovate the structures, methods of action, reasoning, social platform, and political philosophy of the (original) MPR, Professor Vunduaawe, spokesman for the MPR Renewal Group, was assisted by a man named Hubert Mbula Matoka, alias Bolamba, known to be the leader of the unconditional Mobustist youth—i.e., militants who are supposed to sacrifice themselves for Mobutu and the MPR.

There were therefore two opposing trends: on one side, the People's Movement for Renewal headed by Mr. N'Singa Udjuu Ongwakebi Untube, which was said to be a legal and political entity distinct from the MPR, the defunct party-state; on the other side, the MPR Renewal Group, with Professor Vunduaawe Te Pemako as its spokesman.

It took the intervention of a former minister of youth, sports, and leisure for the two trends to get reconciled and get together to reconstitute the People's Movement of the Revolution, with the N'Sele manifesto as a basis.

Why Did Mr. Vunduawe Leave?

Why was the N'Singa-Vunduawe union short-lived? What were the reasons that prompted Professor Vunduawe to leave the MPR? To those who know both men, it was plain that their union could only be ephemeral. This, they believe, was because Messrs. N'Singa and Vunduawe represent two different styles that will not agree. These are two different temperaments that cannot live together. And since their union was built on sand, it was no wonder that it should end as it did, with the resignation of Professor Vunduawe who took his allies with him, among whom Messrs. Sakombi Inongo and Ilunga Mubabinge whom he had proposed as general secretary and first secretary-reporter of the MPR, respectively.

Advised of Professor Vunduawe's decision, Mr. N'Singa Udjuu Ongwakebi Untube asked the members who left to stop making commitments for the MPR and stirring up ill feelings.

As for the reasons that prompted Mr. Vunduawe to leave the MPR, our information indicates that his resignation was brought about by a number of causes. Apparently, it all started at the reconciliation meeting. During this meeting, the Vunduawe wing proposed, among other things, that he should be appointed first vice-president of the MPR, replacing Mr. Umba di Lutete (former permanent secretary of the central committee of the MPR, the party-state). Mr. Umba di Lutete would have become second vice-president of the party. The general secretariat would have been entrusted to Mr. Sakombi Inongo, former minister of information and executive secretary of the MOPAP (Mobilization, Propaganda, and Political Activities), one of the specialized branches of the defunct MPR, the party-state.

The Vunduawe wing also proposed that the MPR executive bureau should consist of 17 executive secretaries, representing all sectors of the country's life.

These are not the only causes of Professor Vunduawe's departure. He also did not relish the position he had been given in the preparatory committee of the MPR Congress: he was put in charge of transportation. In addition to the "insult" that this represented, Mr. Vunduawe also did not understand how his name could be the last one on the membership list of the MPR interim national board.

Concerning the MPR Congress and the composition of its bureau, while Professor Vunduawe agreed that Mr. N'Singa should be the chairman, he wanted the bureau to consist of the following:

- chairman: N'Singa Udjuu;
- first vice-president: Vunduawe Te Pemako;
- second vice-president: Umba di Lutete;
- first secretary-reporter: Ilunga Mubabinge;
- second secretary-reporter: Mrs Etiti-Moto;
- general reporter: Sakombi Inongo.

It is also interesting to note that still, according to information gathered in these circles, the nomination of

Mrs. Nzuzi wa Mbombo as general treasurer did not exactly delight Professor Vunduawe, because of their past rivalries and because the treasurer is not a good manager. Is that true or false? We do not know.

We should also point out that, in spite of their reconciliation, Messrs. Vunduawe and N'Singa have never met again since then. It is thus plain that their union had been imposed by the MPR's spiritual father.

What Future for the MPR?

In view of the situation that now prevails in the MPR, the future of the party seems increasingly threatened. Professor Vunduawe's departure, in addition to looking like a hard blow for the MPR, raises several questions. What is going to happen now? Will Mr. N'Singa continue to chair the MPR interim national board, or will he revive the People's Movement for Renewal through which many militants who had fled the Peoples' Movement of the Revolution had rejoined the MPR ranks?

According to information gathered here and there, since Professor Vunduawe's resignation Mr. N'Singa has been thinking hard. He will disclose his position this week. And he may hold an extraordinary meeting of all charter members of the People's Movement for Renewal in order to examine the current situation and to make the necessary decisions: either to discontinue the (original) MPR experiment, or to revive the People's Movement for Renewal and define once and for all the nature of its future relations with the (original) MPR.

As can be seen, Mr. N'Singa now looks like the one who has been cheated, the big loser in the whole scenario that was being played until now, in which the strings were pulled by the government with the intention of using both trends until the MPR Congress, and manipulating congress participants in order to dismiss both leaders and replace them with others. Among the candidates, those most often mentioned are Mukamba Kadiata (president and general manager of MIBA [Bakwanga Mining Company]), Kakule Mbahingana (governor of Kasai Oriental), M. Banza (minister in charge of relations with Parliament), and Tshimbombo Mukuna (former minister of youth, sports, and leisure) who also acted as mediator between N'Singa and Vunduawe.

Will the MPR Congress Take Place, Yes or No?

As is known, the MPR Congress is scheduled to take place in the very next few days. But in view of the crisis that is shaking the party, it may be postponed.

Moreover, financing the congress is a problem that is becoming increasingly difficult. Actually, according to a document that is circulated in Kinshasa, a tidy sum of 5 billion zaires is required to organize it, and this was brought to the attention of the chief executive officers of state-owned companies (MIBA, SNEL [National Electricity Company], REGIDESO [Water and Power Distribution Administration], OFIDA [Customs and Excise

Office], Contributions [Taxation], GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Companies], etc.). But since these companies have cash-flow problems, it is almost certain that more money will have to be printed.

Thus, as can be seen, the MPR situation is most critical, and the eyes of all MPR militants are turned toward Lisala, where the chief of state is currently celebrating his 60th birthday. We wish him a happy birthday and believe that, as he celebrates his 60th birthday, the President of the Republic will intensely reflect on the affairs of the state and country.

The Integral Multiparty System: Is It a Plot Against the Opposition?

Thus, through his actions and his behavior, the president of the republic will have to be a credit to this golden age. He will have to be more careful than in the past and avoid doing anything that could be viewed as an attempt at making a diversion or fostering confusion.

In this respect, this seems a good time to come back, once again, on the decision to institute an integral multiparty system in Zaire, in order to point out that, after the euphoria caused by this decision—which, by the way, is seen as a victory of the opposition—the staffs of political parties are seriously pondering the reasons that inspired this decision. Especially, as they point out, considering that the very same government will not hear of organizing a national conference, although such a conference is needed to set the rules of the game.

In such a context, some political circles believe that the concept of an integral multiparty system was launched to pull the rug from under the feet of the opposition parties, who were getting ready to publish a joint communique denouncing the famous law on parties and announcing

their intention to boycott the primaries and their refusal to pay the 5 million zaires required for registration.

Others, based on information they said was obtained from reliable sources, state that the idea of an integral multiparty system is a plot hatched by the government to counter the opposition. They add that, when the government realized the extent of the setbacks experienced by its party everywhere in the country, it had the idea of a multiparty system, which will enable it to discreetly initiate the creation of several parties that it will finance and control, and then use to counterbalance the opposition, which it feels is incorruptible and increasingly invasive.

In this respect, there is said to be a list of politicians who were contacted by the government and entrusted with the creation of such parties in Bandundu, Bas-Zaïre, Shaba, the two Kasai, and the former Kivu.

However that may be, the opposition must keep a watchful eye at this crucial juncture in our country's history.

As for the government, it should once and for all agree to play fair. For it is constant that he who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind.

Therefore—to quote the wish of Lambert Mende of the MNC/Lumumba [Lumumba Congolese National Movement] in the interview published in this newspaper—the government should make sure that the trees of an integral multiparty system will not conceal a forest of manipulations and schemes.

Reportage on President Mobutu's Visit to Egypt WA0511190090

For reportage on the visit by President Mobutu Sese Seko and his wife to Egypt, see the Egypt section of the 5 November Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Kenya

Transport Minister Meets British Aid Official

EA0511213690 Nairobi KNA in English 1859 GMT
5 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 5 Nov —Kenya is the largest British technical aid recipient in Africa and second in the Commonwealth countries, the minister for transport and communications, Mr J.J. Kamotho, has said. The minister singled out the ongoing rehabilitation of Kenya Ports Authority [KPA] programme, which, he noted, the British Government had pumped a lot of funds and technical assistance in the process. He said, during the merger of Kenya Cargo Services and KPA, the British Government assisted the Kenya Government in her process in various areas.

Attributing the assistance to the existing good working relationship, the minister said currently, the British Government was helping in the telecommunications automation programme in the rural areas.

Receiving the visiting British permanent secretary [PS] of the Overseas Development and Administration, Mr Tim Lankester, who called on him in his office, Mr Kamotho assured the PS that all assistance advanced to Kenya on various sectors of national development had been utilised well and for the intended purpose. Mr Lankester attributed the huge amount of funding by his government to the continued good relationship between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Official Says Foreigners 'Indulging' in Affairs

EA0511132490 Nairobi KENYA TIMES in English
5 Nov 90 p 12

[Article by Mussa Jefwah: "Nassir Raps UK MPs For Meeting 'Critics'"]

[Text] The Mombasa Kenya African National Union (KANU) branch chairman, Shariff Nassir, has criticised the British members of parliament who come [as received] and talked to government critics in Nairobi only ignoring other Kenyans in the country's 42 districts. Mr Nassir also told British parliamentarians that Kenyans knew how to govern themselves as they knew their immediate needs.

The Mvita member of Parliament and assistant minister for information and broadcasting wondered why foreign powers were indulging in Kenyan affairs instead of focusing their attention to strife-torn countries like Lebanon, Liberia and Rwanda.

"What interest have these foreigners in Kenya?" asked Mr Nassir when he addressed journalists at his Majengo KANU office yesterday.

Mr Nassir said the truth of the matter is that some foreign countries were envious of Kenya's achievements and their aim was to have those achievements destroyed. He said foreigners who come to Kenya should visit all the 42 districts and talk to Kenyans who genuinely love

their country and their president, and not just talk to government critics like some lawyers and clergymen in Nairobi and conclude that all is not well in Kenya. He said that although Nairobi was the capital city of Kenya and houses the headquarters of all government departments it should be known that these offices were manned by brains from all 42 districts of the country.

He said Kenyans understood their system well and fully supported it. He added that nobody would tell Kenyans which system was the best for them except themselves because they know where it leads them.

Mr Nassir, who was reacting to a report attributed to some British MPs by the press yesterday, said Kenya would never agree to be colonised again.

Mr Nassir criticised the assumption by some British MPs who recently visited the country that Kenya's judiciary was not free and that it should be separated from the executive, saying that the assumption was misleading. Mr Nassir said 27 years of independence was enough a period to have made Kenyans politically mature.

* Moi, Opponents Continue Verbal Battle

* Church Leaders Attacked

91AF0128A Nairobi DAILY NATION in English
29 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Emman Omari]

[Text] Anglican bishops said yesterday that they were saddened and distressed by allegations that the CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya] was working in league with dissidents to destabilise the Government.

The head of the Church of the Province of Kenya, Archbishop Manassas Kuria, read a five-page statement to the Press after a four-hour meeting of the Provincial Synod and the House of Bishops at the All Saints Cathedral in Nairobi.

He said: "CPK has noted with grave concern and considerable dismay the statement carried in the local and overseas media by His Excellency the President on September 26.

"With profound respect to the President, we refute this allegation in the strongest terms."

On Wednesday, President Moi accused the CPK of working with dissidents. He also accused a Nairobi lawyer, Mr Paul Muite, of being an instigator and singled him out as the man behind statements issued by the CPK.

Yesterday, Archbishop Kuria said that despite the Government's role to protect the freedoms of individuals in the country, recent events testified to a degeneration and erosion of democratic principles.

It had necessitated, he said, that the Church speak out boldly in Christian love and charity against all evil and unlawful structures that are dehumanising.

He said the CPK would continue to speak out relentlessly and without fear on problems currently facing the country.

He said the CPK was reiterating to the government to analyse and resolve these problems.

"The CPK makes this appeal in its sincere desire of supporting our President and the Government in discharging the difficult responsibility of respecting, protecting and defending the Constitution of Kenya and of governing with justice and in peace to the Glory of God," he said.

He said that the CPK affirmed to all people that it would never agree to be instigated or influenced by any person.

The CPK's statement was signed by Archbishop Kuria, Bishops James Mundia (Maseno North), Dr Henry Okullu (Maseno south), Dr David Gitari (Kirinyaga), Jonathan Omolo (Maseno West), Benjamin Nzimbi (Machakos), John Mahiaini (Mt Kenya Central), George Njuguna (Mt Kenya South), Stephen Njihia (Nakuru), Moses Njue (Embu) and an assistant bishop of Maseno South diocese, the Reverend Haggai Nyang. The Bishop of Mombasa diocese, the Reverend Crispus Nzano did not attend the meetings but sent apologies. Bishop Isaac Namango of Nambale diocese left before the statement was signed.

The archbishop said while individuals had their own freedoms, statements from the Church were made only after careful considerations and prayer.

He said that the statements on issues of national importance had been inspired by the Holy Spirit of God.

Regarding the Kanu [Kenya African National Union] Review Committee which recently heard Kenyan's views about reforms in the ruling party, the CPK expressed the hope that its recommendations would conform with the wishes of the people.

He said that the church continued to be opposed to detention without trial and called for the release of all detainees. They also asked Parliament to abolish all the unjust and undemocratic laws under which such people were detained.

The archbishop reiterated the recent call by its Peace and Justice Commission for the immediate publication of new Scotland Yard's report on the mysterious death of Dr Robert Ouko, who was the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation. It also renewed its call for an inquiry into the death of Bishop Alexander Muge of Eldoret diocese.

Archbishop Kuria said the Church would continue to pray for the President and the entire leadership.

He quoted the words of St Paul in the book of Philipians Chapter four verse eight: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

* Moi Warns 'Tribalists'

91AF0128B Nairobi DAILY NATION in English
30 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Michael Njuguna: "You're Doomed, Tribalists Told"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] President Moi yesterday said he would take tough action against inciters in the country.

The President said he could not condone selfish people whose aim was to divide the public along tribal lines and ruin the future of the youth.

He was speaking at Jomo Kenyatta High School in Nakuru North where he was the chief guest during the schools' parents day.

He said that when he reprimanded the Secretary-General of the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), Mr Ambrose Adongo, recently, some clergymen went round saying that Mr Adongo had been threatened.

"I was tough with Mr Adongo because he showed, by calling a nationwide teachers strike, that he was unconcerned with the future of the children," the President said.

He said that he could not allow anyone to ruin the future of young Kenyans or to undermine the peace and stability prevailing in the country.

He said that he was surprised that clerics who are expected to promote peace were inciting university students: "Do they love our children? What type of Christians are they?"

"Nitakuwa mkali, kama unataka kukoroga wananchi nita kunyorosha (I'll be tough with you if you want to stir trouble among the public. I will straighten you out,)" the President said.

He recalled that the multi-party politics of the early 1960s brought a lot of tribal conflicts when the country had seven million people, "such politics if allowed when the country has 22 million people, could cause untold suffering," he said and described the trouble-makers as politically bankrupt people who did not want to see the majority of Kenyans enjoying peace.

President Moi also accused selfish rich people of having given the Kenyan youth drugs in order to participate in the July 7 and 8 fracas. "These people realised their folly when their buses and cars were set ablaze."

He said that it was inhuman for such selfish tycoons to use other people's children as guinea pigs while keeping their children at a safe distance.

"All children are equal and should be treated well regardless of the social position of their parents."

At the same time, President Moi accused those who had opposed the introduction of the 8-4-4 education system of trying to deny children from poor families the opportunity to acquire university education.

He said that poor parents had found it difficult to pay school fees for their children in Form Five and Six, which gave the rich the opportunity to take their children to the universities.

The fruits of the 8-4-4 system, he said, were now evident in that only 8,000 'A' level students joined the local universities students in the recent intake compared to 12,000 8-4-4 students.

The President advised leaders to organise harambees for running sports activities in primary school, instead of individual parents being asked to pay per child.

He referred to an incident where he found six pupils walking to their homes at about 10 am after being sent away because their parents could not raise Sh50 [shillings] for each of them as sports fee.

Such incidents, he said, could be avoided if sports in primary schools were run on harambee basis.

He said teachers should be provided with good houses and thanked the school's board of governors for proper learning.

Earlier, the board chairman, Mr E.N. Kinuthia, said that the school had spent Sh3.5 million on the expansion of physical facilities and that another Sh10 million was needed for further expansion.

During the occasion, President Moi launched the school's magazine called NEW FOCUS, at the request of the school headmaster, Mr S. Gill.

Also present was the Minister for Education, Mr Oloo Aringo, the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner, Mr Mohamed Yusuf Haji, the area MP [Member of Parliament] Mr Joseph Kuria, the Nakuru Kanu [Kenya African National Union] branch chairman, Mr Wilson Leitich and the Nakuru Town MP, Mr Amos Kimemia and other local leaders.

* Prelates Reject Charges

91AF0128C Nairobi DAILY NATION in English
29 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Gichuru Njihia]

[Text] President Moi yesterday accused the Church of the Province of Kenya of inciting university students against the Government.

He said some clergymen had gone to the Nairobi University to incite the students by challenging them: "Why do you not talk? Why do you not use the power you have?"

At the same time, the President recommended that the grading of points at the public universities be made uniform so as to have a similar standard of degrees in the four institutions.

He called for fairness in the awarding of marks to remove suspicion and reminded the students that anyone failing to meet the set standards would be discontinued.

The President was addressing the nation during the third graduation ceremony of Egerton University in which the first group of degree students graduated since the institution was founded in 1939. A total of 854 students graduated comprising 526 degree students and 328 diploma students.

The President also reiterated that the academic programmes in the public universities must be realistic in order to produce high calibre graduates who will have no difficulties in tackling the country's economic problems.

On Thursday night, students at the Nairobi university went on the rampage after attending a two-hour lecture delivered by two CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya] prelates—Bishop David Gitari of the Kirinyaga Diocese, and Bishop George Njuguna of the Mt. Kenya South Diocese.

The students harassed and stoned motorists on State House Road after the lectures.

In their lectures, the clergymen revisited the multi-party debate and the views expressed by wananchi during the Kanu [Kenya African National Union] Electoral Review Committee sittings. They also condemned the Kanu National Chairman, Mr Oloo Aringo, for warning the Government critics would be crushed.

The President said members of the church should be the first to preach peace. "They should not tell lies to the students because if there is chaos, it will affect everybody."

The President said: "These people are no longer preaching what they should be preaching. And he cautioned students against such people. He told them that, in the event of chaos, even the university would be affected."

The President warned the advocates of tribalism that they would destroy the nation by their deeds. "If people, particularly the clergy, embark on tribalism, this nation shall not survive," he said.

He commended the Egerton University staff for taking the necessary steps to provide extra dormitories on the main campus and on the newly-acquired Laikipia campus.

He was satisfied that the practical approach to training for which Egerton University had distinguished itself had been retained.

"My government values this approach to training, which produces not only qualified personnel for employment in the public and private sectors but also innovative graduates with practical skills useful for self-employment," he said.

President Moi reiterated what he had said three years ago that academic programmes undertaken by each of the public universities must be realistic and must be able to produce high-calibre graduates who can tackle economic problems with minimum difficulties.

He said that this year, the four public universities had admitted the last of the Form VI leavers and the first group of the 8-4-4 graduates. This totalled to 20,000 raising the

enrolment in the country's public universities to about 40,000 students. Egerton University's share of the new students is 3,920, raising the total enrolment to 6,850.

The President said the large number of students in the universities called for careful planning. "My Government has on its part made available funds to enable the universities to develop facilities to accommodate these large numbers," he said.

The President said the development of Egerton University as a centre of excellence in agricultural training, research and extension was vital to the economy of the country. "A nation that cannot feed itself is a nation that cannot claim to be truly independent," he said.

He said that with the expansion of university facilities and courses in institutions of higher learning, it was imperative that the pace of training faculty staff be maintained.

The Head of State thanked the countries that had assisted the university in its expansion programme by providing physical facilities, scholarships and in research.

Earlier, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Professor Richard Musangi, said that in the next three years, 2,000 graduands would be graduating annually.

* Kuria Rules Out Testimony

91AF0128D Nairobi KENYA TIMES in English
8 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] Archbishop Manassas Kuria of the Church of the Province of Kenya declared yesterday that Church leaders, including himself, had "no business" testifying before the judicial inquiry into the death of Dr Robert Ouko, which opens at Kisumu on October 16. Archbishop Kuria was responding to a challenge by a Minister of State in the Office of the President, Mr Burudi Nabwera, that those clergymen who have demanded that he report on Dr Ouko's death be published go to Kisumu to say what they know about the death of the Foreign Minister in February. Mr Nabwera said in Parliament last week: "The likes of David Gitari, George Njuguna, Henry Okullu and Timothy Njoya and the politicians who were carried shoulder-high (at Bishop Alexander Muge's service) should go to Kisumu and say who killed Dr Robert Ouko." A former MP [Member of Parliament] for Butere, Mr Martin Shikuku, was carried shoulder-high when he attended the service at All Saints. Addressing reporters after a church service at St Veronica's CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya] Church in Nairobi South B yesterday, Archbishop Kuria told politicians to leave churchmen alone to concentrate on spreading the gospel. "How can someone tell us to go to testify in something we know nothing about? Those who know should go," he told reporters after the service. This remark was in full contradiction to what the Anglican prelate and such of his lieutenants as Bishop Henry Okullu (Maseno South), Bishop David Gitari (Mount Kenya East), (more recently) Bishop George Njuguna (Mount Kenya South) and the Provost of the All Saints

Cathedral, the Reverend Peter Njenga, have been demanding. Joined by Presbyterian priest Timothy Njoya, they have made statements which left no doubt that they believed that certain Government officials conspired to murder Dr Ouko and, more recently, Bishop Alexander Muge (Eldoret).

They have made utterances which implied that they have the full evidence to prove the murder conspiracy against the politician and the clergyman. And observers yesterday supported Mr Nabwera's demand that the CPK priests should be the first to offer to give testimony because they were the most outspoken in their assassination claims.

At any rate, the Judicial Commission of Inquiry will have the power to summon any individual it deems to have information that may help it get to the bottom of the Ouko puzzle.

The Anglican bishops have spoken in a manner which makes it highly likely that they will be called to testify to justify their allegations that somebody or another in the Government killed Dr Ouko.

They have uttered words which, were they prudent or conscious of the law, they should have kept quiet about. One observer said that the reason the Archbishop is banning himself and his men from testifying may be that theirs were mere words, spoken out of pure emotivism rather than from any and cool-headedness. [as printed]

And yet the same primate yesterday condemned without batting an eyelid "all those who pretend to have knowledge" against other people.

He said those saying his Church is divided were just trying to divert the public's attention from the issues of the day, which, presumably, included the Ouko affair on which they have been vocal but from which they now seem to be beating the retreat.

If they were not politicians, said an observer, they would not jump from one view to a completely contradictory one—as the Ouko turnabout shows—to suit their motives.

Yet such observations are all the work of "Satan." Yesterday Archbishop Kuria declared: "Satan is now working in some people's heads to spread lies against us. We can only be tolerant and pray that God saves their hearts."

Tolerance or no tolerance, last Friday the WEEKLY REVIEW had occasion to remark that Mr Kuria had recently formed the habit of making replies to President Moi in too direct a manner, in a manner tantamount to insult.

President Moi recently declared that some individual priests had tried or were trying to turn the Anglican Church into a tool for subversion.

And indeed a few days later the SUNDAY TIMES reported a plan by well known CPK agitators and Mr Njoya to indoctrinate university students, through carefully selected lecturers, into rebelliousness.

Despite the protestation that their aim was not to rouse the rabble, but only to teach, students rioted and stoned cars after the first lecture, by Dr Gitari. Mr Kuria's remark yesterday called President Moi a liar on something which has been proved.

Dr Gitari and Mr Njuguna said their mission in the lectures was only to condemn violence. But disinterested individuals, who attended the lecture, report that only one form of violence—police action at Muoroto and Kamukunji—was condemned.

Observers said that, though police brutality is a reality which must always be condemned, if peace were the real aim of the CPK prelates, they should have first condemned the rabble violence and looting which in the first place necessitated the police action—and the politicians, lawyers and churchmen behind the rioting.

Said Mr Kuria: "The stories appearing in the Press that we are divided are just manufactured to suit some people's interests..."

Yet everybody knows that the Church was rocked to its foundation by the Katakwa issue, a protracted wrangle with which Bishop Okullu recently identified Mr Muge's death.

Though Bishop Okullu later turned around to say the Church was solidly united, over the years he and the Archbishop have exchanged bitter words over the manner in which Mr Kuria was elected to the helm a decade ago.

Even Bishop Muge, over whose death many crocodile tears have been shed, constantly attacked Archbishop Kuria's leadership as often being guided by tribalistic considerations, as the last issue of the WEEKLY REVIEW showed.

The magazine pointed out that of the 13 bishops, five belong to one single ethnic group and that, for a reason which the Church has not explained, most bishops are deployed only to their tribal areas.

Of the six most belligerent bishops—namely, Mr Kuria, Mr Njenga, Mr Gitari, Mr Njuguna and De Okullu—only the last one belongs to a different ethnic group.

And the six are all leaders of the CPK. The only other individual with them—Mr Njoya—does not appear to enjoy widespread support in his own Presbyterian Church.

Observers believe that this is why he does not use the channels of that Church to spread venom but has chosen to identify with another Church, whose activities the Government likens to those of an opposition political party.

And many priests and members of the CPK have expressed dismay at the stridulance [as published] and abandonment of tact with which a handful of the Church's myriads of priests are criticising the Government.

Whenever faced with these questions, (the lawyers and) priests concerned have been quick to point out that the "people" were merely expressing a political demand—the multi-party system.

But even Kenya's detractors in the Western Press have pointed out that those involved in the Muoroto fracas and the Kamukunji rioting were too young to know what they were doing, to know the difference between the various party systems.

Raymond Bonner, the Nairobi Correspondent of THE NEW YORKER magazine, recently pointed out in an article we reprinted that even were the case different and if there were widespread disgruntlement with the system, the Kamukunji movement would not have run out of steam so easily and so soon.

If the Churchmen want to gain political influence in their congregations, the observer went on, they should drum up a greater sense of propriety and greater awareness of self-contradiction in the criticisms of the many sins which admittedly the Government has committed.

He went on that the grating and abrasive manner in which the priests approach their criticisms cannot lead to correction but only to destruction of the spirits of those destroyed, forcing them to respond with equal absence of rationale, as has been the case in recent months.

Yesterday, Archbishop Kuria spared some time, however, for his alleged religious calling.

He condemned the people who pretend to be saved, yet their hearts were full of evil. He asked why some people just clamoured to get Christian names to use as a fake licence to give false witness about their relationship with Jesus Christ.

"Jesus is calling for true repentance by sinners. No amount of pretending will do," the Archbishop said.

He called on Christians to work for peace in their environments, saying that peace could not fall like manna from heaven.

Archbishop Kuria, who later presided over a public auction to raise money for a church project, said that the church was one. "Those attacking the CPK must know that all the Christians pray to God through Jesus Christ. Christians are one body, one church," he said.

He said Christians should strive for unity and true brotherhood. He called on Christians to avoid jealousy, attacks and lies.

Archbishop Kuria noted that brotherhood among the rich and top leaders revolved around their common interests, and what material wealth they shared but it did not come from their hearts.

An observer quipped after the sermon: "It sounds every bit like a Pharisee's moralisation."

De Klerk Calls for Defeat for CP in Randburg*MB0511205690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2014 GMT 5 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk on Monday called on the voters of Randburg to hand the Conservative Party [CP] a massive defeat in Wednesday's by-election to show that the majority of white South Africans rejected the "unlawful and even violent path" upon which the CP had embarked.

Addressing a public meeting in Randburg two days before the by-election, he said the National Party [NP] would continue to implement the mandate for reform it had received from voters in last year's election and would not allow the CP's "intimidation" to throw it off course.

He said the CP was changing from a political party into a "resistance movement" behind the smokescreen of misrepresenting NP policies. "They can march, they can call me a traitor and they can call me an ape, but we will carry out our mandate."

He rejected CP calls for election on the grounds that it had won less than 25 percent of the white vote in last year's election, and the latest opinion polls did not support their claims of growth, let alone their claims of now representing the majority of white voters. "I want to give a clear and concise reply to their demand for a general election. No. There won't be a general election soon, because there is no basis for such a request."

He also rejected CP claims that constitutional doors had been closed to it. "I fail to see how they can say that when there is an absolute assurance of a referendum before the implementation of any new constitution."

He said the leader of the CP, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, as leader of the opposition, had had every opportunity to address the entire National Party caucus in Parliament and to persuade them that they were being misled by a so-called traitor. But he had failed to do so and had been convincingly beaten in two general elections in the past three years.

Mr. de Klerk said he also rejected the image of the Afrikaner that was being built up by Dr. Treurnicht and other rightwing leaders. "I do not accept that Dr. Treurnicht, or Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche (AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader) or Mr. Robert van Tonder (Boerestaat [Boer Homeland] party leader) speak on behalf of the Afrikaner people."

He called on all people who supported reform to vote for the National Party because great significance would be attached to the percentage poll. The two hazards for reform in the face of the by-election were complacency and prejudice which could lead to a low poll. He needed a strong turnout in favour of reform to strengthen his hand and that of the government in its negotiations for a new South Africa.

He urged voters not to be complacent because of the CP's dismal performance in the 1989 election because in this election, the CP was focusing on Randburg with all the "venom, bitterness and dirty tricks in which they specialise. The only way to offset this is to produce a result so overwhelmingly in favour of reform and renewal, that there can be no argument about where South Africa intends to go."

In a reference to Democratic Party [DP] voters, who do not have a candidate in the election, he said they should not allow past differences and animosities between the two parties to stop them from voting. More was at stake than merely the NP or the DP. A vote for Mr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk (NP candidate) would not be a vote for the NP but a vote for a new and just South Africa. "A vote for the CP will be a vote for growing isolation, deepening conflict and naked racism."

He also stressed abstention would be seen as a tacit vote for the CP. Because as there were only two parties in the contest, a failure to vote would be read as a lack of support for government initiatives. Mr. de Klerk's speech was greeted by enthusiastic applause by the crowd which filled the Randburg High School hall and the adjoining courtyard.

Minister Views ANC Campaign 'With Concern'*MB0511170090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1640 GMT 5 Nov 90*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 5 SAPA—The minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, has noted with concern a decision by the ANC [African National Congress] in the Western Cape to defy the recently-imposed curfew on Khayelitsha and other troubled black spots near Cape Town.

The regional organiser of the ANC, Mr. Johnny Issel, said earlier on Monday that their defiance campaign was aimed at destroying what he termed racist local government structures that were the cause of problems in black areas, including Khayelitsha.

Responding to reports on the proposed campaign, Mr. Vlok said in Pretoria on Monday night he noted them with concern.

He added while the police were attempting to restore order in the troubled areas, it was now up to community leaders to ensure that conditions conducive to lasting stability were maintained and strengthened.

"The responsibility of community leaders and organisations is now much greater to ensure that outbreaks of unrest and confrontational situations are avoided. I, therefore, invite all parties involved in this issue to discuss with me and with the SA [South African] Police the ways and means through which the situation can best be stabilised," said Mr. Vlok.

He added he wished to appeal urgently "to all in these troubled areas to exercise the maximum restraint and responsibility...."

He said there were various factors contributing to the raising of the confrontation level in troubled areas "and this (decision by the ANC) has increased the potential for further violence."

"There is no doubt in my mind that this (defiance) decision by the ANC will be a factor which will contribute to confrontation and could result in violence," the minister's statement said. "I appeal to all leaders to now make a determined effort to eradicate those factors contributing to tensions in the area."

He realised there were differences on how best to achieve lasting peace in Khayelitsha "but the South African Police and I have an open-door policy with regard to hearing the widest range of opinions...with the aim of resolving differences."

Pik Botha Invited To Lusaka 'Prayer Meeting'

*MB0611064090 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 6 Nov 90*

[Text] The news agency SAPA-Reuter reports that the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, is expected to join six African heads of state at a prayer meeting in Zambia tomorrow.

The report said Mr. Botha and the leaders of Botswana, Lesotho, Uganda, Burundi, and Mozambique had been invited to attend the meeting by President Kaunda of Zambia.

Western diplomats said that, although President Kaunda had denied that the meeting would be political, it would certainly have political overtones. It appears that Swaziland, Namibia, and Angola, as well as the ANC [African National Congress] will also be represented at the meeting.

De Beer Says Political Shift 'Destructive'

*MB0611113590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1051 GMT 6 Nov 90*

[Text] Cape Town Nov 6 SAPA—A shift to the left in South Africa would be just as destructive as one to the right, Democratic Party [DP] leader Dr. Zach de Beer said on Tuesday [6 Nov].

Speaking during a DP luncheon in Cape Town Dr. de Beer said a shift to the right "presumably as a result of some bad behaviour by black leadership", could lead to right-wing domination. The country would descend into a morass of anarchic violence, international rejection and economic collapse.

On the other hand a shift to the left, brought by a government with a socialist policy, would result in the establishment of a command economy in which nationalisation or massive government intervention in industry would occur, Dr. de Beer said.

"Government expenditure would soar, investment would cease, growth would be absent or negative, unemployment would mount, inflation would gallop and the currency would collapse. In the end, when there were no goods in the shops, the violence would come again," he said.

The lurch to the left, he said, would be less bloody than the one to the right. It would take longer but it would also destroy the country.

He said a shift to the left would occur "if a new-style general election were held and if it brought to power a government which had a communist or socialist policy".

Acknowledging that the South African economy was in a mess, with sporadic violence in Natal and elsewhere, Dr. de Beer said the solution relied on a political settlement that would lead to the establishment of a moderate, democratic government which commands widespread legitimacy among blacks and whites.

BCMA Chairman Calls for 'Land Seizure'

*MB0511104890 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
5 Nov 90 p 6*

[Report by Mathatha Tsedu: "Repeal of Land Act Is Insufficient: BC"]

[Text] The intended repeal of the Land Acts was not a sufficient attempt by the regime to placate the land hunger of the dispossessed black people in this country.

And as blacks were dispossessed of their land by deceit, plunder, force and seizure, it was utterly unacceptable that black people were now expected to pay for the return of their land.

This is the standpoint of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) on the thorny issue of black land ownership.

BCMA chairman Mr. Mosibudi Mangena told SOWETAN in an exclusive interview in Harare, Zimbabwe, that his organisation believed that land seizure and "other methods" were the only way to redress the present imbalance in land ownership.

"Land will have to be seized from private owners and distributed among the people in a formula still to be worked out.

"Whites who presently own it or to be even more precise, possess it, got the land in a non-democratic and non-economic buying scheme.

"They seized it from our people and we will seize it back," Mangena said.

Turning to the BCMA's standpoint on negotiations, Mangena said his organisation had agreed with AZAPO [Azanian People Organization] that a constituent assembly, elected on a one-man-one-vote system with no

colour bar, was the only body that could formulate the future constitution of this country.

While his organisation was not willing to enter into negotiations with the de Klerk regime over the constitutional dispensation for South Africa, it was, however, willing to meet the Government and negotiate the mechanisms of setting up the constituent assembly.

These negotiations would have to take place outside South Africa and not "under the threats of the regime's forces with temporary indemnities that are withdrawn at the whim of the regime," he said.

The constituent assembly negotiations must be chaired by an independent and impartial mediator.

These talks would not deal with anything except the "modality to bring about the constituent assembly," he added.

If the Government was to reject this demand, the struggle would intensify in all its forms economic sanctions, armed struggle, mass mobilisation and disruptions of economic activity to bring down the regime.

Mangena said it was "absurd" for the de Klerk regime to claim that it was a legitimate government that should be left in charge of the running of the State with no need for the creation of a constituent assembly.

"De Klerk's regime is illegitimate as it oppresses the people and was not democratically elected. It only represents whites and cannot claim legitimacy.

"It is the main party in the conflict and cannot claim the right to convene, chair and decide the outcome of the process of liberation," Mangena said.

He said the struggle has always been waged to liberate the oppressed. It will continue for as long as this objective has not been realised.

Turning to the involvement and inclusion of bantustan leaders in the process, Mangena said this group of "Government puppets" had always been part and parcel of the State machinery of oppression and exploitation.

"They belong with de Klerk and should attend as part of de Klerk's delegation. They are frauds and the liberation movement should continue to shun them," he added.

Asked whether his organisation had also been pressurised by Frontline States to enter into negotiations with the regime, Mangena said this had not happened.

Although Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda had urged the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] to enter talks, the BCMA, which is not recognised by the OAU, had "received no message from any government urging us to go and negotiate.

"Our interactions with parties and governments in Africa have revealed instead an appreciation of our stand and it is found to be reasonable.

"For those parties like ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union—(Patriotic Front)] that actually waged war, they do not understand how military commanders of a people's army can rush home now when all we have is new words from the regime," he added.

Mangena said the BCMA, as a political family, believed in a "fully-fledged democracy in Azania with one man, one vote on a single voters' roll and in a unitary state, the repossession and redistribution of land and the redistribution of wealth."

The BCMA also wanted these aspects to be enshrined in a new constitution to ensure that the new economic system, which has to be socialistic, grants workers ownership, control and full participation in wealth creation and distribution.

Although the organisation was committed to participating in peaceful processes that have the potential to achieve genuine freedom, "De Klerk's refusal to negotiate on land redistribution, a radical alteration of the economic system, one person one vote in a unitary state, and his insistence of group rights, closes the door to real negotiations.

"For the BCMA to negotiate under these circumstances would be a betrayal of the confidence and trust our people have placed in the movement," he added.

It was for this reason that the main BCMA formation inside the country, AZAPO, was instead calling for a consultative conference of all liberation movements and workers organisations to solidify and unite the efforts of the oppressed.

The Government's selective and individual invitations to black organisations is intended to be divisive and reveals De Klerk's continuing efforts to drive deeper wedges between people's organisations.

"He can therefore never be seen as a liberator of black people as only the oppressed have the capacity to free themselves," Mangena said.

ANC Demands Release of Operation Vula Detainees

*MB0511204890 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 5 Oct 90*

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has demanded that the trial of ANC members who were allegedly involved in Operation Vula be suspended, and that all the accused be released on bail pending the result of the indemnity investigation.

In a press statement, the ANC says that all the so-called crimes linked to Operation Vula were committed before the agreed deadline of 8 October 1990.

The organization also demands that immediate steps be taken against security force members who were allegedly involved in the torturing of the detainees. The ANC says

it regards the continuing prosecution of its members as a politically motivated smear campaign aimed at driving a wedge between the ANC and its ally, the South African Communist Party.

In the statement, the ANC admits that Operation Vula was an ANC operation which was fully authorized by the organization's National Executive Committee. It says that ANC President Oliver Tambo was in charge of Operation Vula until he became ill, after which the ANC's secretary general, Mr. Alfred Nzo took over.

Vula was a long-term operation, launched when the ANC was still militarily active, and it formed part of the organization's broader strategy. The Executive Committee was totally responsible for the operation. In discussions with the government, which resulted from the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, it was clearly stated that the ANC's underground activities were continuing, and that the organization had personnel and weapons in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice told our political staff that, in the light of the pending criminal trial in Durban, the matter was sub judice, and it would be inappropriate to give any comment which could have a bearing on the facts of the case. Without referring to the specific trial, one could however make the general statement that the unauthorized and unlicensed possession of firearms, explosives and other weapons was, and remains, a crime. The spokesman said indemnity still had to be granted, while the question of the postponement or suspension of trials was in the hands of the attorneys general and the courts.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said there is strict code of conduct which applies to every member of the South African Police, and which is aimed at preventing the torture of any detainees. If torture should take place, there are sufficient mechanisms to ensure that those involved are identified and that steps are taken against them. The spokesman emphatically denied that any of the Vula accused had been tortured.

Guerrillas Reportedly 'On Stand-by' in Transkei

*MB0611063590 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 6 Nov 90*

[Text] A fresh row is likely between the ANC [African National Congress] and the government. Carmel Rickard reports on fresh claims the ANC is storing weaponry in Transkei.

[Rickard] This morning's NATAL MERCURY quotes a report in the latest edition of the London journal, FRONTFILE, giving details of the allegations. It is claimed that a group of ANC guerrillas, armed with plastic explosives from Czechoslovakia, are gathered in Transkei on stand-by in case they are ordered into action at short notice.

The report says these details came to light at a recent meeting on global terrorism held in France. During that meeting, it was claimed that over the last five years about 2,000 ANC members were trained in Libya by the PLO. Some of these trainees were given the explosives when they left Libya, which they took with them when they entered southern Africa, and are now stock-piled in Transkei. This morning's report contains no comment from the ANC or Transkei authorities.

ANC Criticizes 'Civil Protection Units' Plan

*MB0511113890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0929 GMT 5 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 5 SAPA—A government move to empower black local authorities to form civil protection units has been condemned by the ANC [African National Congress] as an attempt to create vigilante groups to prop up discredited community councils.

The latest provincial gazette provides for the establishment of civil protection units in terms of the Civil Protection Act. The units will be made up of volunteer residents.

The ANC said in a statement it was significant that such "protection units" are being created at the same time as the government expresses its opposition to self-defence units created by and accountable to the people.

"This measure, in our view, is designed to create vigilante groups to prop up those discredited community councils that are still operating and to act against the people who are daily protesting against the callous actions of the authorities which have resulted in such essential services being cut off.

"Hundreds of thousands of people are daily experiencing the hardship and health hazards that accompany life without water, without sewerage and without electricity."

The ANC said the confrontational approach of the Conservative Party-led authorities, and the indifference expressed in the actions of such bodies as Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission], had already resulted in tensions reaching crisis proportions.

"The introduction of a legalised vigilante force into this already explosive situation is an outrage. We hold the government and the local authorities responsible for all further escalation of violence, death and destruction that is bound to follow this foolhardy action."

The ANC said it would be approaching the civic associations to discuss the matter further.

COSATU Demands Bophuthatswana Reincorporation*MB0511155290 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1400 GMT 5 Nov 90*

[Text] COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] has called a stayaway to demand the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

The protest action will take place on Monday and will affect Pretoria, Brits, Rustenburg and the whole of Bophuthatswana. The action is being undertaken by COSATU, the UDF [United Democratic Front] and the Anti-Bophuthatswana Coordinating Committee.

Police Say Infiltration by Spies 'Low Level'*MB0411125090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1157 GMT 4 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 4 SAPA—Police counter-espionage investigations into infiltration of the SA [South African] Police [SAP] by the African National Congress [ANC] had been confined to a low level, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said in reaction to a Sunday report of a "Spyhunt...to unmask ANC and SACP [South African Communist Party] double agents." Captain Craig Kotze said in a statement on Sunday the investigations had been exaggerated as high level ANC penetration.

THE SUNDAY TIMES said a spy hunt was under way in intelligence and security forces and security sources had revealed the "infiltrators" were involved in Operation Vula, an alleged plot to overthrow government by force if negotiations failed.

Describing the security breach as "horrific", the paper said counter-intelligence officers were "desperately" trying to gather more information to expose the spies. Capt. Kotze said the SAP was continually on the alert for this kind of activity, as were all security agencies worldwide. Investigations to counter infiltration were constantly in progress.

Counter-espionage investigations had already uncovered several policemen exposed as infiltrators, including a former Warrant Officer David Malaza and a Constable Motgabudi.

"It is hardly surprising the SAP and SADF [South African Defense Force] should be continually targeted for infiltration because this is a professional hazard of security organisations throughout the world," Capt. Kotze said.

"One of the aims of Operation Vula was to infiltrate the SAP and SADF because these organisations presented the greatest stumbling block to the violent overthrow of the state."

He said membership of bona fide political organisations was not illegal, but treasonable actions were still punishable by law. If the SAP found infiltrators they were not

acted against for being members of organisations, but for trying to "steal state information," Capt. Kotze said.

Sports Officials 'Happy' With Progress at Harare*MB0511174890 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 5 Oct 90*

[Text] The president of the South African Track and Field Association, Mr. Danie Malan, says he is happy at the progress made at the two-day sports summit meeting in Harare at the weekend.

Speaking on his return to South Africa, Mr. Malan said the summit was historic, because for the first time all bodies representing South African athletics had met. He said he hoped all South African athletics organizations would get together next month for more talks, adding that the first objective was unity in athletics.

The president of the South African Cricket Union, Mr. Jeff Dakin, said he was delighted with the progress that had been made on cricket issues. He said he was impressed by the conciliatory approach of sports leaders, and pleased that the hard work towards unity by several South African sports organizations had been recognized.

Earlier, the president of the Rugby Board, Dr. Danie Craven, said rugby would not abide by the sports moratorium, because several tours had been organized and could not be canceled.

Editorial on Return of MK, State Actions*MB0411100890 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 4 Nov 90 p 4*

[Report by David Breier: "Govt Insists MK Will Not Return as Military Unit"]

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk's Government is determined to prevent the African National Congress's [ANC] armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] (MK), from returning in triumph as a military force with its own identity, sources in Pretoria disclosed this week.

The Government insists that MK be demobilised and that its members return as unarmed individuals without being secretly reequipped from the ANC's hidden arms caches.

This position clashes headlong with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani who wants MK to return home as a military unit which could form an integral part of a future South African defence force.

The Government is delaying the release of all political prisoners and the return of MK exiles as a lever to push the ANC to make more concessions in its suspension of the armed struggle.

The dispute over the future of MK is at present being thrashed out in a joint ANC/Government working group

dealing with questions arising out of the ANC's agreement in the Pretoria Minute in August to suspend armed actions and related activities.

The Government team is led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the ANC team by Mr Hani.

The Government confirmed this week that key implications of the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle are at the core of the latest clash between the Government and the ANC over amnesty for political prisoners and indemnity for exiles—many of them MK fighters.

This week Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee angered the ANC when he announced further details of amnesty and indemnity.

This follows meetings of another working group set up in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, dealing with the political prisoner and exile issue.

Mr Coetsee said time scales for release and indemnity would depend on the progress on questions related to the ANC's suspension of armed actions.

The ANC angrily rejected the Government's linkage of armed struggle to the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

But Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Vlok, told the Sunday Star that MK members could not be allowed to come back to form an internal army. They could return in their personal capacity, he said.

And it would be illegal for returning exiles to carry arms, he added. The law was not being changed.

The police this week expressed concern that few politically-related weapons such as Soviet-made AK-47s have been handed in during the recent moratorium for the return of unlicensed arms.

There is great concern in Government that returning MK exiles will have easy access to hidden arsenals.

This concern has led to the Government's insistence in the joint working group for a clearer undertaking to end the armed struggle—including ending further MK recruitment and handing in hidden arms.

Mr Coetsee's announcement this week will however further speed up the release of less controversial political prisoners, while more contentious cases will be handled by a consulting body which will be handled by a consulting body which will advise Mr de Klerk. Part of the complex bargaining process over political prisoners and exiles was resolved this week when South Africa spy Odile Harington was released in Zimbabwe after serving three years of a 12-year sentence for spying on the ANC.

The Sunday Star learnt early this year that her release, and possibly that of other South African Government agents in African countries, would form part of a quid-pro-quo for the release of ANC prisoners.

Miss Harington's release now opens the way for the further release of ANC prisoners in South Africa.

ANC 'Running Out of Money,' Membership 'Stalls'
MB0411101790 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 4 Nov 90 p 4

[Report by political staffer John MacLennan: "ANC Membership Drive Stalls as Cash Runs Out"]

[Text] The constitutional talks could be delayed by massive problems facing the ANC [African National Congress] in launching itself as a full-fledged political party.

Its biggest problems lie in raising cash, dealing with the return of the exiles and establishing a widespread and visible infrastructure which will enable it to communicate with the grassroots where it hopes to sign up a million members.

But various expert sources this week said the organisation was running out of money. Morale problems are also said to be stalling its membership drive and the organisation is being criticised for not consulting the rank and file.

But it is especially the money issue which is hampering the organisation. Nelson Mandela was highly critical of his Japanese hosts this week when they refused to make a donation of millions directly to the ANC.

Now information reaching Government sources suggests the organisation has failed to secure the more than \$5 million (about R[and]13 million) promised to Mr Mandela during his tour of the United States earlier this year.

Informed estimates are that the ANC has only received R390,000. Some would-be donors have forgotten promises made in the euphoria of the moment and other want certificates of approved welfare projects for tax deduction purposes—which the ANC cannot provide.

At the same time the ANC's organisation in exile is said to be running on aid grants made last year and has been warned there will be less money in future.

One estimate is that the organisation needs up to R4 million a month for running expenses and to pay for setting up new branches with all the bills this entails for rents, salaries and equipment. Funds are also needed to run about 30 offices abroad.

ANC critics also claim that the ANC is having difficulty in signing up members while at the same time extracting the R12 membership fee.

Each branch is supposed to have 100 members, but branches are being formed without this total being reached amid promises that the full number will be recruited later.

Angola

Trade Minister, Central Bank Governor Dismissed

MB0411201290 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] In a decree issued today, President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos relieved Dumilde das Chagas Rangel as minister of trade and industry. The post has been temporarily taken by Deputy Trade Minister Antonio de Oliveira Silvestre.

In another decree, the Angolan head of state appointed Dumilde Rangel as provincial commissar of Huila. He replaces Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento who has been appointed special assistant to the president of the republic for political affairs.

The governor of the BNA [National Bank of Angola] has also been relieved from his post and appointed deputy minister of finance. Fernando Alberto da Graca Teixeira has been appointed BNA governor.

The head of state has also appointed Alexandre Luis de Brito Teixeira de Sousa e Andrade as assistant director of the central state protocol services.

UNITA Allegedly Attacks Convoy, Kills Six

MB0611072390 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] attacked a supply convoy in (Chambel), Lunda Norte Province, last week, killing six people, wounding 16 others, including soldiers and civilians. UNITA also burned 18 vehicles.

According to a communique from the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] General Staff issued in Luanda yesterday, on 2 November, [as heard] UNITA ambushed an Inter-transport convoy moving from Benguela to Huambo, killing four people, wounding 14 others, and destroying five vehicles. Also last week, UNITA murdered seven people and wounded 11 when it attacked the Catabola District headquarters in Bie Province.

In response, the Angolan Armed Forces killed 27 UNITA elements and seized a quantity of war materiel. Our forces suffered seven casualties, including four deaths.

Following another clash with the enemy in Caombo, Malanje Province, FAPLA forces killed seven UNITA elements. The FAPLA General Staff communique also points out that UNITA carried out these actions after its defeat by FAPLA forces in (Ucosseles) district last October when our forces killed 35 terrorists and (?wounded) 13 others.

Bie Province Workers Sabotage Power Lines

MB0511201290 (Clandestine) KUP in English to
Southern and Central Africa 1905 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Jamba, Monday, Nov. 5.....[dateline as received]—Unpaid public service workers in Catabola and Camacupa towns in the Bie Province have cut down electricity pylons supplying the towns with power from Cunja River hydro-electric dam.

KUP sources say a number of electric pylons between Catabola and the dam and to Camacupa have been cut by workers who are apparently angered by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government's failure to pay them their salaries. Reports further say the cutting down of a large number of electric pylons in a short space of time has led the MPLA authorities to step up their repressive measures in the province.

Madagascar

* French Language Reinstated in Classrooms

91AF0159A Antananarivo MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE
in French 20 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Adelson Razafy: "The Return of the French Language"]

[Text] Vilified and scorned since the events of 1972, the French language went into full retreat before the growing "malagasization" movement. But recent changes in education policy show French is making a comeback and might recapture its lost ground...

France as a language of instruction has the wind in its sails. Every year it is making more inroads in our schools and colleges. Its momentum seems irresistible, and malagasization is gradually crumbling. At all events, the phenomenon indicates there has (once more) been a turnaround: the French language, denounced and downgraded for so many years, is back in favor with our leaders and gaining momentum...

It will be recalled that in May 1972 "malagasization"—a watchword that rang out like a battle cry—was one of the key themes of the movement that led to the overthrow of the first republic. Promoted and invoked by frustrated nationalists and people who had a hard time making the grade in a francophone environment and educational system, the malagasization of instruction was decreed in 1972; by 1975 it would be inscribed in the "red book," the governmental program of the revolutionary regime. Appropriated by the revolution, it was defined as follows in the red book: "malagasization in education means harmonizing the contents and the methods of instruction with the imperatives of the revolution, i.e., the building of a socialist and truly Malagasy state." The language of instruction, especially in the scientific and technical disciplines, was a local esperanto composed of terms borrowed from all parts of the island and expected to

become the "common Malagasy language." Because language cannot be imposed, this "common Malagasy" never embedded itself in public life and remains an academic curiosity. For all these reasons, this malagasization built on a foundation of implicit conflict with France would soon run into resistance. Not least in higher education, which balked at the idea of a "common Malagasy."

The difficulty of making the jump from secondary schools taught in Malagasy to colleges taught in French doomed malagasization to failure. Literally disoriented from their first exposure to French-language university instruction, the great majority of students who received a "malagasized" education were unable to cope with college. At the same time, many scholarship students sent from Madagascar to French-speaking universities or institutes abroad were excluded because of their linguistic deficiency. An entire generation—now described as having been "sacrificed"—blames malagasization (perhaps a bit too complacently) for their academic failure.

The about-face began, curiously enough, when relations with France began to thaw in 1984. The academic weight and amount of time given to French were increased to give students more motivation. French language organizations were eager to provide significant assistance to the rehabilitation program. But the process also required re-establishing a French-speaking environment for the students, to provide adequate exposure to the language; this entailed restarting a French-language station on RTM [Malagasy Radio and Television] and, as at present, increasing the number and upgrading the quality of French-language TV programs with live A-2 broadcasts.

Another milestone was the frenchification of the teaching curriculum, with the measures announced the day before yesterday: consolidation of French-language instruction in the elementary curriculum starting in second year, the re-establishment of French as the language of instruction in the former CEGs [General Education Certificates] and high schools, in every academic area except ethics, civics, and the history and geography of Madagascar. It was also announced that homework in senior year philosophy classes must henceforth be prepared in French.

These measures are to go into effect when the new academic year begins in October, and the way things look now, we seem to be moving toward almost total frenchification of the educational system. The French language is given more and more weight the further one goes up the educational ladder. The aim here is gradually to prepare students whose mother tongue is Malagasy to handle French-language higher education. All the same, this kind of bilingualism is devoid of consistency or rationality, and this still-hybrid system needs further frenchifying.

But the task of reconversion will be difficult, for its promoters will run into numerous obstacles: resistance from "malagasophiles," the widespread ignorance

among teachers (especially those in the current generation) of the basic rules of French, not to mention the obvious inadequacy of the logistic resources devoted to the task (manuals, language charts, etc.).

French is a difficult language, and learning it requires an enormous amount of time. Pragmatists and people with an eye to the future would have preferred English, which has a number of advantages, but that is not an option. It took decades to get the francophone education system functioning properly. The well-oiled wheels of that machinery were broken up under triumphant malagasization. So it will take considerable time before the sluggish mechanism gets back up to speed. Especially since French no longer has the luster it once held and is no longer a prerequisite for social success.

Malawi

* Mozambique Refugee Wave Strains Economy

91AF0112A Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE
in Danish 5 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Peter Tygesen: "The Limits of Hospitality"—first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] Malawi's poor population has taken in 850,000 refugees without a murmur. Now famine threatens these generous hosts.

Nsanje—"We came because of the war. We've heard there's safety and food in Malawi, but only the bravest dare leave their village. The soldiers pick us up if we're discovered. So we walked for four days through the forests," said Trevor Gaston, a farmer from Mozambique's war-torn Tete province.

Joao had just arrived in Malawi. He is a strong, stocky man dressed in a thin T-shirt and a pair of tattered shorts. While the dark rain clouds moved in over Malawi's southern Nsanje district, he sat in the reception center in Ndamera and shivered from cold and fright. But he was safe.

Three other men, one of them with a clubfoot, and all of them in tatters, sat beside him, their teeth chattering. They had all fled from the inferno in Mozambique, where the 15-year-long war between the government and the Mozambique National Resistance [MNR] revolutionary movement has cost the lives of one million of that country's inhabitants. Even more have fled from their homes and fields. There is still no prospect of an end to the war, and every day new refugees arrive in Malawi.

Just four years ago there were only a few refugees in Malawi. Today there are 844,000. Philip Ostenson of the United Nations' food assistance organization FAO estimates there will be 40,000 refugees next year "if nothing unforeseen happens."

"The refugees have been received with extraordinary openness by both the people and the government," said

Patrick de Sousa of the United Nations High Command for Refugees, who heads up that organization's efforts in southern Malawi. "Even if parts of the country contain more refugees than Malawians, there has been almost no friction between them. In any event, we have never, for instance, seen Malawians attack the refugees, as has happened in Europe."

Hosts Go Hungry

"They truly are our brothers and sisters," the local district commissioner explained. "We belong to the same tribe and speak the same language and we lived together for centuries until the colonial powers drew a border between Mozambique and Malawi. So we have no problems with one another."

Nevertheless he hopes the war in the country next door will soon end. The district's 210,000 inhabitants is in fact home to 240,000 "brothers and sisters." "Before we didn't have enough food for ourselves. Now they're living on our fields, and that of course makes the need even greater."

The many refugees are also straining other resources in Nsanje. The refugees need to build huts to live in, and every day 53,000 families gather fuel for their cooking fires. "There is almost no wood left in the entire district. I can't imagine how we will ever get our forests back."

Deforestation will affect the entire district long after the refugees have returned home. Most of the year the mercury in the thermometer hovers near the 45-degree [Celsius] mark in the shade, and in the sun, the evaporation of the earth's precious water is increased. The already scanty rain is reduced. Desertification sets in.

The stream of refugees, the official willingly concedes, has also had its advantages. Once this border area was an important trading center, but at first, when the Portuguese were thrown out of Mozambique and the war practically closed down the railroad and the highway leading to the ocean, the town slowly began to die. In the border town of Marka, grass grows in the shattered windows of the abandoned shops. But the refugees brought growth back again. "We've gotten new roads and a soap factory. Many young men have gotten work. The truck drivers and other guests spend money, and today you can once again buy everything in the shops. Money circulates very quickly today, and that's good," the district commissioner stated.

Harsh Dictatorship

Money is not the only thing circulating rapidly in southern Malawi. So is the AIDS virus. Malawi is one of Africa's hardest hit countries, but Malawi's government admits the problem only with reluctance, and the illness is still spreading unchecked.

Malawi is a harsh dictatorship, which since independence in 1964 has been governed with an iron hand by "His Excellency, President for Life Dr. Hastings

Kamuzu (big chief) Banda." He cherishes Victorian virtues and he never appears in public without a bowler hat. But he is also a ruthless executioner in whose jails critics are left to rot. Some of them simply die of hunger because their food is taken away from them.

From their exile, his harshest critics draw a comparable parallel to the country's people: Even if the dictator is around 90 years old, the average life expectancy in the country is just half of that. Infant mortality is frighteningly high; more than one out of three children die before reaching their fifth birthday. This figure is expected to increase because of hunger and AIDS.

So far it has been forbidden to speak about both AIDS and poverty. But now the need is so great that these issues can no longer be covered up. Last year there was no rain, and the harvest was catastrophically poor. Malawi is thus threatened by a serious famine: Between now and the next harvest, in June, the country will need 170,000 metric tons of food. Not for the refugees, but for its own people. And a survey of pregnant women in the capital city revealed that one-quarter of the women were infected with AIDS. The many foreign aid workers who are in the country because of the refugees have all seen the extent of the problems and pressured the government to act. For the first time in the country's history, the government has admitted the problem. It has done a little with AIDS information, and in August it went to the international community and asked for help to battle hunger.

But the result was a disappointing one: "We got almost nothing from our cry for help," said N. F. S. Chuthi, a deputy department head at the foreign ministry. "The rich countries apparently would rather give money for refugees than for assistance which would remove famine and underdevelopment."

Government Governs

Nevertheless aid workers admit that the dictatorship in Malawi has its positive sides as well: "The refugee program in Malawi is the best I have seen anywhere in the world," said Holger Leipe of the Red Cross League. Leipe previously served in camps in Afghanistan, Kenya, Uganda, and Bangladesh. "The government has issued clear policy lines. It primarily reiterates unceasingly to its officials and its people that the refugees will be helped. No one can contradict this. Every time we ask for assistance, it comes promptly."

"At the same time it has given clear orders about the division of labor to the many foreign organizations working here. In this way the work is not hindered by splits, jealousy, and competition between the organizations; things which almost always turn cooperation in other refugee camps into a nightmare."

"The fact is," says the FAO's Ostenso, "that the government in Malawi governs. There are no hitches anywhere, and so food, money, and materiel aren't wasted. They get to the refugees."

The distinction between the country's poor population and the refugees, who get food, water, and fuel without working for it, has always worried the aid organizations. When there were 70,000 refugees in Malawi it was said that the country could accommodate at most 100,000. When this figure climbed to 500,000 it was said that now the limit had been reached. Now there are almost one million, and it still has one of the world's best run refugee programs.

"But perforce the day will come when Malawians say: Our brothers have now lived here for three to four years. Now they can very well return home," de Sousa said. "If things are to continue this well, the international community must also help Malawi."

*** Danish Aid May End Over Human Rights Record**

91AF0110A Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN
in Danish 12 Oct 90 p 7

[Article by Peter Tygesen: "A Carrot For the Dictator"—first paragraph is BERLINGSKE AFTEN introduction]

[Excerpt] Human rights. The Danish government's new policy of supporting only those developing countries which uphold human rights may soon face its first test. The name of this test could be Malawi.

Blantyre—[Danish] Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen's threat to developing countries, that they can go jump in the lake when looking for Danish foreign aid unless they uphold the most basic human rights, may soon face its first test. The name of the test could be Malawi. It is among the world's 10 poorest countries, and is governed by one of Africa's most brutal dictators. Denmark is the only Nordic country giving assistance to Malawi; currently for irrigation projects and the modernization of its telephone system. Both projects are about to come to an end. Should new projects be started?

This week the extent of human rights violations by Hastings Banda, the 90-year-old ruler, was documented by the human rights organization Africa Watch. The 120-page report lists practically every conceivable violation of human rights, and the organization concluded by urging donor countries to stop all economic assistance to Malawi, or, at the very least, to use this assistance to compel the government to respect human rights.

The report comes at a time when the Socialist People's Party has initiated debate over the choice of principal recipient countries by the Danish International Development Authority [DANIDA], and the foreign policy committee is currently weeding the list of countries receiving assistance from Denmark. The idea is to make better use of funds by cutting down the number of countries and, on the other hand, increase support for these countries by making them so-called principal recipient countries.

However, the "problem" with Malawi is that its government functions well and is easy to work with and that,

generally speaking, projects succeed in Malawi. Not to mention the demonstrable fact that Malawi is so poor that it could almost not be avoided, given the basic goal of Danish assistance to developing countries of helping the poorest countries. It fulfills all the criteria to the letter. With the exception of the awkward criterion of human rights. [passage omitted]

The report, entitled "Where Silence Rules," is a veritable catalogue of every imaginable violation of human rights. Imprisonment without trial, control of the courts, denying defendants access to a defense attorney, torture, killings, a ban on opposition [parties], a ban on trade unions, a ban on free movement within the country, religious persecution, racism, and tribalism are everyday occurrences in this closed country, which expelled its last foreign correspondent last year.

Furthermore the aging dictator (he is believed to be over 90, but discussion of his age is prohibited), runs the country as a ruthless squire would rule his tenant farmers. Malawi's small farmers, who make up 90 percent of the population, are forced to sell their crops at a low price to the president's buyers from his company Admarc [Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation]. He owns almost half of the country's transportation companies, newspaper printing companies, big estates, and so forth.

The head of DANIDA [Danish International Development Agency] in Zimbabwe, Jes Boye-Moller, who is also responsible for assistance to Malawi, believes Denmark could have greater influence in Malawi by increasing assistance: "There is great respect for Denmark in Malawi," said Boye-Moller, who pointed out that in its annual negotiations with the primary recipient countries the agency, among other things, makes its criticisms of that country's government. "So for many years we criticized the state of emergency in Zimbabwe. I wouldn't say we were the reason it was lifted a few months ago, but, on the other hand, Zimbabwe has never been in doubt as to our position. If Malawi's status were comparable, we could increase our influence accordingly," Boye-Moller said.

Mozambique

Chissano Closes Assembly's Special Session

MB0411040090 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1516 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Speech by President Joaquim Chissano at the closing of the First People's Assembly Special Session in Maputo on 3 November—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman of the People's Assembly, Honorable Deputies, Honorable Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Honorable Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Throughout this People's Assembly Special Session, we assumed the highest of responsibilities as representatives

of the nation, namely to debate and approve the Constitution, the principal law of our state to which all laws are subordinated, and which defines the political and socio-economic framework in which we will live. This session was the culmination of an intense and broad process of reflection about the nature and future of the Mozambican nation. Now, we have an unanimously approved, revised text of our Constitution.

We haven't taken a long time to debate the Constitution. Nor can we say that the revision process was carried out in a timely manner. Throughout this period we trod down the necessary path. We neither prolonged the debates nor omitted issues needing discussion. It was thus possible to determine, in accordance with the urgency posed by the current historic process, the political basis aimed at deepening the democratic exercise and freeing one's initiatives, and to opening new paths and moving toward phases which will rapidly lead us to a national consensus which will normalize national life.

Given our lack of experience, we couldn't have achieved a perfect Constitution. Yet, we believe the Constitution that we have approved is in accord with the debate held within the scope of our abilities, the popular aspirations, our experience, and the historic requirements demanded by a country which is only 15-years-old. It was possible to carry out this highly significant task because millions of Mozambicans had prepared the ground. They took part in the national debate and expressed their views, beliefs, aspirations, and concepts about what our society is and what it should be. Men and women of all ages, races, ethnic origin, occupations, social strata, and different beliefs have taken part in the debate in a united manner. Each contribution enriched the debate. It is fair that we (?salute) the Mozambican people for their sense of patriotism and democracy, frankness, seriousness, and maturity during the popular debate. The latter was an essential phase of the revision of the Constitution.

With their sensibility, knowledge and experience, the deputies brought to this assembly the fertile and free exchange of ideas and views, while bearing in mind that the most sacred of our freedoms is the fatherland to which we belong.

I think we should acknowledge that when the process of revision of the Constitution began in 1986, we did not foresee that it would lead to so far-reaching changes as those contained in the document we have approved. History will record that these changes were in line with the profound and rapid transformations that have taken place in our country, in the region, and the world over the past few years. The revision of the Constitution, which began in 1986 and has now been completed, was carried out on the basis of the systematic concern that our country has felt for the deepening of democracy and improvement of institutions since the attainment of independence. The revision of the Constitution was influenced by the changes that have occurred in our economy and our economic policies since 1987. It acquired a new dimension and new elements in view of the popular

debate which preceded the Fifth Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Congress, and the measures adopted at that congress. Finally, the scope of the constitutional revision was further expanded by the issues that emerged during the popular debate on the draft constitution proposals held this year.

The peace process and the normalization of national life being carried out by the government, have also influenced our way of thinking. It was indispensable that the people as a whole should be aware of it. Accordingly, we held several popular meetings at the provincial level during the debate of the draft constitution proposals. At the same time we invited Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] elements to take part in the debates provided that they renounced violence, adhered to law and order, and accepted the principle of popular sovereignty through democratic means.

We sought to involve in the debates many Mozambicans living abroad who, for a number of reasons, were absent from the Mozambican family.

Throughout these years there have been world changes, the overall dimension and consequences of which are extremely great. This is not the time to assess these changes, but it is important to underline that international political and economic relations are undergoing profound changes. Despite the Gulf crisis, there is a generally eased atmosphere which is favorable to dialogue and the development of international peace and security factors.

In southern Africa, there are even more significant peace prospects due either to internal events or the positive influence of the international easing of tension. Namibia is now independent. Important steps have been taken in South Africa in order to dismantle apartheid. In view of peace prospects, there are more possibilities of our countries centering their attention on internal development, of which the strengthening of social justice and democratic life is an essential aspect.

It was in this context of major and rapid changes that we reviewed the Constitution. It would be surprising if these changes had not influenced the debates and the decisions that we have democratically made.

Honorable Deputies and Guests, the Constitution enshrines principles reflecting the profound domestic changes and the progress that has been made, namely the country's democratic development, and the unswerving defense of national interests. Such principles are of utmost importance to the Mozambican nation, and derive from the freely and openly expressed will of millions of Mozambicans during the revision of the Constitution.

Popular identity and citizenship status are essential elements of the Mozambican nation. This assembly correctly decided to incorporate the principles of the Nationality Law into the Constitution. By asserting historical, political, and sociological facts, the definition

of Mozambican citizenship derives from a common identity and patriotic goals and sacrifices aimed at liberating Mozambique's land and its people, and the common determination to fight for progress and prosperity of the people.

We are pleased with the fact that after an open, loyal and frank debate, free of inhibitions, which did away with taboos and various prejudices, we were able to emerge even more united, cohesive, free, and identified with the fundamental values of our people and our fatherland. As in the past, we were able to reactivate the spirit that has always inspired us, namely to transform our diversity into a wealth from which we will continue to build the strength of the Mozambican nation.

The decision to adopt multipartyism in response to the desires and expectations of a large number of citizens was the outcome of pluralist ideas and political and social tolerance that emerged from the Fifth Frelimo Party Congress. We understand democracy as being respect for the interests of the majority, but also as being fair consideration for the legitimate desires and aspirations of all sectors of the population. Here lies our decision favoring the development of participatory democracy in our country.

By enshrining political pluralism, the Constitution underlines the upholding of national interests, the strengthening of unity, the spirit of patriotism, and the consolidation of the Mozambican nation as high values of sovereignty to be equally respected by parties and associations. While our Constitution sets out the principles guiding participation in the state's political life, it also widens the rights, freedoms, and guarantees of citizens. The freedom of association and expression, a free press, the right to information and inheritance, and the freedom to resist [as heard] in any part of the country, the right to strike, the freedom to establish professional associations or trade unions, the free choice of occupation, and religious freedom are among the principles enshrined in the Constitution. The right to life and the banning of the death sentence are stated in the Constitution.

This widening of rights, freedoms, and guarantees is an important gain for all citizens and Mozambican society. It is a decisive step aimed at consolidating a state of law based on the adherence to and unswerving defense of legality. It is not sufficient to have these rights and freedoms stated in our Constitution for them to be fully assumed by all. Rather, it is fundamental that we continue to work so that adherence to the Constitution and the law becomes part and parcel of the daily activities of our organs and institutions.

The experiences arising from the evolution of the economic situation and the introduction of the Economic Rehabilitation Program [PRE] caused profound change. In light of this, our Constitution enshrines an economic order based on the improved quality of work and on market forces. This economic order places an emphasis

on the initiative of economic agents, the participation of all forms of ownership, and the role of the state as regulator and promoter of growth and economic as well as social development.

Our country's economic and social development will ultimately depend on our people. The quality of work must be improved to the extent that every Mozambican will feel that he is both the subject and object of our development.

Profound changes have been made to our legal order both with regard to increased democratic participation and with regard to economic as well as social organization. This has had implications on our state's institutional development. State organization now relies on a greater separation of powers. I want to repeat this: State organization will now rely on a greater separation of powers, but this should not affect their functional interdependence.

This fact does not merely arise from political, economic, and social change in our country. It arises from the qualitative and quantitative growth of our human resources. It also arises from the deliberate and conscious efforts we have made during these 15 years of our national independence to improve and correct relations among our organs as well as the practice of public administration.

In line with the deepening of democracy, the Constitution establishes the principle of universal voting on a direct, secret, and personal basis to elect the president of the Republic and representative bodies at every level.

Through regular elections the people will indicate who their representatives are. Through those representatives, the people will inform the leadership of the nation about their feelings and their wishes. Through their representatives, the people will participate in the decisionmaking process and be able to follow the implementation of those decisions in various organs and sectors.

The Constitution also establishes the principle of holding referendums on issues of fundamental interest to the nation. This is yet another way of getting our citizens involved in the country's political and democratic life.

In this way, the Mozambican people will be able to exert their own exclusive and inalienable (?sovereignty). The Constitution that we have approved ensures that conditions are met for wider democratic practices. It satisfies conditions concerning the deepening of the pluralism of ideas and opinions as well as reciprocal tolerance among patriots within their own country and among their own people.

In addition to the principles it sets out concerning the various sectors of our existence as a nation and a state, the Constitution ascribes fundamental duties to every single citizen and to every organ and institution. It also establishes the mechanisms to control constitutionality and legality.

This control will be assured through a constitutional council. Its functions will provisionally be taken up by the Supreme Court.

Dear Deputies: The text of the Constitution that we have approved is an instrument for peace. Within an international context, it reaffirms the principles of peace and cooperation that have always guided the foreign policy of the Mozambican state and its participation in international efforts for disarmament, peace, and world security. Within the national context, the text of the Constitution establishes all the conditions allowing political options to be freely and peacefully discussed. It asks the citizens at large to assess those conditions and decide whether to renew or reject them through regularly held elections.

There is no longer any reason for anyone or any group to try and impose plans and ideals by means of violence, unless that person or that group only seeks to destroy the country and perpetuate the suffering of the people. The Mozambican people have never wanted war. The Mozambican people find it even more difficult to accept that men who are also sons of this fatherland should endlessly continue bringing war to our land; that our country should continue to suffer destruction at the hands of those who should be joining in its reconstruction; and that lives should continue to be cut short by men who should fraternally work to save them.

The Mozambican people accept the creation of different political organizations through the solemn guarantees provided by the constitutional law. The Mozambican people accept that these political organizations can peacefully divulge their political programs, defend their concepts, and present their candidates to the state's electoral organs. These political organizations must do so without resorting to violence, and they must accept popular elections. Democracy is not some completed system. Perhaps it never will be. There will always be something to perfect, new requirements, and more advanced forms and ideas. These will always emerge.

(?Today) our country takes another step to add to the many we took since the national liberation struggle. However, we can only progress further if violence and war stop maiming our people and our nation. We can only progress further if we have the freedom that will give us the possibility of working, creating, and being productive in a climate of peace.

Dear deputies and guests: Democracy also involves the release of physical and intellectual energy so that we can become more committed to the many tasks of national reconstruction. The struggle against underdevelopment is a constant challenge that will demand the involvement of all Mozambican people as well as all our inventive capabilities. Only in this way will we be able to consolidate our national independence. It has been threatened by the enemies of our people ever since it was proclaimed.

Political freedom is a gain that only becomes greater with the development of our economy and well-being. Given our poor and fragmented economy, we must all devote more effort and work to consolidate all the freedoms enshrined in the Constitution.

We must not relax discipline on the various work fronts. This is a duty to be observed by managers and workers alike. It is a duty for everyone to follow. We are encouraging free initiative in our national economy, opening ourselves to competition—which will inevitably increase—and (?acting to control) all economic agents with the awareness that there is a need to continue protecting and defending the legitimate interests of all workers and the poorer sections of the population.

The economic choices we have made are major challenges to the state's and the productive sector's ability to adapt and adjust to our reality. They also demand work. We must face this work with seriousness and with a spirit of sacrifice. However, there are many other challenges facing us: The famine and nakedness of millions of men, women, children, and old people are realities caused by the war waged against us by a cruel enemy. Millions of Mozambicans have been forced to leave their homes and workplaces. Now they find themselves as refugees abroad or war-displaced persons in their own country.

We all have the duty to work to change this situation. We must all strive to ensure that these people regain normality in their lives and in their work, so that they too can enjoy their fundamental right to participate in the construction of their own fatherland.

The following are important challenges, among others: illiteracy; the insufficient school and health network; the insufficient infrastructure for the development of agrarian production and trade in rural areas; the absence or degradation of roads; and the poor water supply. We must defeat these challenges to normalize our lives and rebuild the nation.

Our people's determination and heroism allow us to be optimistic and to feel certain that we shall overcome all these obstacles.

Dear deputies: On its own, the adoption of the new constitution will not resolve all our problems. There are immense political tasks awaiting us. We must immediately start disseminating the Constitution so that all our people can identify with it and see that we followed the suggestions gathered during the popular debate.

We will have to face up to new situations, new ways to exert democracy, and new ways to participate in political life and to control ideas. All this will have to be done within a context of respect, tolerance, and social harmony. However, we must never lose sight of the fact that political debate ultimately aims at contributing toward resolving the people's problems; to uniting and consolidating the nation; and to developing the country.

It is our duty, as deputies, to explain every article in the Constitution. We must also explain why we introduced these articles. Above all, we must explain that the Constitution guarantees legality and democracy. Like a national flag, the Constitution affects every Mozambican citizen, irrespective of political or religious views, social standing, age, or sex.

The development and implementation of the many principles enshrined in the Constitution will demand important work in connection with drawing up laws that must be implemented henceforth.

We will soon return to this hall to discuss and approve the Law on Parties and the Electoral Law. These will provide the regulations governing the upcoming general elections. These are important laws and everyone should be knowledgeable about them.

Let us prepare ourselves so that we can enrich these laws with our suggestions. These laws must respond to our reality and serve as effective tools to implement new stages in our country's democratic process.

After the Constitution comes into force, the deputies at the various assemblies will remain in office until the next general elections are held to safeguard stability and correct placement of people. Thus, it is necessary to ensure the normal functioning of the assemblies. The deputies must assume their responsibilities until their terms of office are over.

Dear Deputies and Guests: We have ended our work here after a month of intensive discussions. We are happy in our awareness that we have fulfilled our duties, taken important steps to defend our sovereignty and independence, and laid yet another foundation stone in the building of peace in our country.

We have come from every province. We have come from every sector of work. Now, we will return to our areas to inform those who conferred our mandates upon us about the work we have done here. We must tell them that we support political, social, economic, and cultural stability. By the same token, we are against immobility, stagnation, and the inability to adjust to new realities in the country and abroad.

The dreams we had when our national independence was proclaimed remain alive. The ideal of building a prosperous and free fatherland continues to demand a joint effort by all Mozambicans. No citizen, sector, or social group must be marginalized in this lofty process to establish peace, reconstruct the nation, and build a future of stability and progress for our country.

Long live the united Mozambican people from Rovuma River to Maputo River! [Audience replies: "Long live!"]

The struggle continues! [Audience replies: "Continues!"] [Applause]

I have already signed the Constitution, which means that I have ordered its publication. I hope that everyone will be able to obtain a copy of the Constitution and study it as often as necessary.

We signed it and ordered its publication today because we find it to be a necessary tool for correct thinking. We know that those who attentively read the Constitution will be able to answer whatever doubts they may have had. They will learn that brain power has no restrictions in our country. They will learn that the Constitution calls for the development, not the regression, of democracy. For these reasons, we decided to order that the Constitution be published as soon as the People's Assembly approved it and the People's Assembly chairman (?confirmed) it. This is why we did it immediately.

We would like to wish every deputy a safe return so they can work on the tasks that still await them.

Discusses Police Role

MB0511193090 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Joaquim Chissano, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, said in Maputo today that regardless of the new name to be given to it, the Mozambique People's Police [PPM] first and foremost must respect the rights of citizens, regardless of the political leanings of parties which will contest the government's policy. Chissano was addressing a group of senior PPM officers on the occasion of Legality Day which is marked today.

Chissano stressed that today, more than ever before, in defending the interests of society as a whole, the respect for the law by PPM members is unavoidable, regardless of their ideological leanings.

[Begin Chissano recording] The policeman should be the first citizen to be well versed with the rights of Mozambican citizens. This will enable him to be more professional and have a clear idea about his goals. So, we recommend that policemen immediately begin a thorough study of our Constitution, the laws to be introduced, and the existing laws. They should not oppose the Constitution.

The police will have to review their own constitution and structures in light of the new Constitution. We know that the Constitution provides for a multiparty system in our country. This means that there will be various parties with different views and ideologies.

The police will have to be above all parties. The police should abide by the law and the Constitution because they will have to defend every citizen on an equal basis. A policeman will not judge citizens in accordance with their or his ideology. He should judge citizens in accordance with the Constitution. Thus the need for greater professionalism in police ranks. This will permit law and order in our country, which will be ensured by an efficient and dedicated Mozambican police. [end recording]

Chissano Departs for Lusaka Meeting 6 Nov

MB0611095290 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano left for Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, this morning to attend a meeting of various African heads of state and government. The participants will include President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Quett Masire of Botswana, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi, and Justin Lekhanya of Lesotho. The meeting will also be attended by representatives from Swaziland, Namibia, Angola, South Africa, and the African National Congress.

Soviet Ambassador Reaffirms Continued Support

MB0611062790 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0400 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi said in Maputo yesterday that the Mozambican Government is undertaking all efforts to achieve peace in the country as soon as possible. The Mozambican foreign minister was speaking at a reception given by Soviet Ambassador in Maputo Nikolay Dybenko on the occasion of the 73d October Revolution anniversary. Mocumbi expressed Mozambique Government's support for Soviet's efforts to achieve international peace and security.

In turn, the Soviet ambassador reaffirmed readiness to continue to support Mozambique within the framework of bilateral cooperation and Soviet's economic reforms.

Further Comments on Rejection of Constitution

MB0511131090 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1100 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] A senior representative of the Mozambican Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement, Mr. Manuel Frank, says his movement does not accept a number of articles and the preamble of the new constitution approved by the Mozambican People's Assembly.

Mr. Frank said in Lisbon that the preamble of the new Constitution and its Seventh Article were what he termed an artificial exaltation of the ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party. He said that the Constitution had contradictory articles when it came to equality between men and women, leaving the whole issue unclear. He also said that under the new Constitution, the People's Assembly had no form of control whatsoever over the government in power.

Mr. Frank added that the new Constitution had a strong presidentialist stance which meant that the president had the power of electing the prime minister regardless of which party won elections in a multiparty system.

*** Threat of Famine in Marromeu Announced**

91AF0125A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
12 Oct 90 p 8

[Text] The emergency situation in Marromeu, Sofala, is described by those responsible for the distribution of provisions to the needy as being quite critical inasmuch as more than 6,000 people newly arrived from the war zones are in dire need of food.

A shortage of clothing and household appliances is also being felt by that group of people. There is immediate need for more than 1,000 tons of foodstuffs to combat that emergency.

A source from the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters [DPCCN] said that most of the new arrivals are clothed in sacks or tree bark.

Last May, when our reporting staff made a trip to that part of Sofala, an empty sack could be purchased for 500.00 meticaes.

The sacks are altered to serve as miscellaneous cloth material, quilts, shorts, and shirts. This situation applies to any individual who appears before a political or military organization, having just come from captivity.

The same source said that the situation might get worse, since some of the displaced war victims from Zambezia Province might conceivably seek refuge in the district of Marromeu.

According to our information and as could be expected, this new arrival could hamper the distribution of provisions on the part of national and international organizations.

Measures To Be Taken

Our source asserted that the solution to the problem is a ceasefire—an end to the war which has been plaguing our country for more than a decade; our source then went on to say that most of the cultivated land, undeniably rich, is not being used to advantage.

Another question which has come up is the shortage of production equipment (hoes, machetes, scythes, axes, grindstones, and files).

In addition to these major difficulties of recent occurrence, there are many floods which destroy the crops.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that last year the district of Marromeu received 1,008 hoes, thus satisfying the requirements of 504 families. They also received 20 axes and 20 handsaws; but this quantity of tools was by no means sufficient to satisfy the needs of the 8,359 people who are faced with an emergency situation.

The shortage of funds and production equipment affects not only these thousands of people but also all of the peasants who live off the land and benefit from their labor.

Despite these difficulties, the people who have made their way to the village have banded together in small groups at great risk and have even taken over the small islands of the great Zambezi River where they have established their collective farms.

In addition to individual initiatives, the local government has made an effort to assist in the development of new cultivated areas, although on a smaller scale, since most of the land surrounding Marromeu belongs to Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd. Nevertheless, in certain areas near the village, there are problems involving the lack of security.

Meanwhile, in the first six months of this year, the area in question was privileged to receive 613 tons of miscellaneous products—namely, corn, beans, cooking oil, soap, canned goods, and clothing.

To overcome this vicious cycle, it is essential for the local and provincial branches of the DPCCN to realize that, over the short term, there will be an increasing number of citizens arriving from the jungle, Zambezia, and neighboring countries, all in need of food, clothing, medicine, and other articles, repeatedly mentioned in the emergency-plan reports and the news media.

* Funding Delays Limpopo Corridor Project

90AF0125B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
2 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by Augusto Helio]

[Text] The Limpopo Corridor restoration project in the southern part of the country, initiated in 1987, is now three months behind schedule, which means that 50 km of the restoration of the line will not be achieved. Until now, a little more than 300 km have been restored out of a total of 390 km, the project's goal. Engineer Anibal Manave, deputy director of the Improvement Brigade of the South [BMS], listed among other adverse factors the unpredictable supply of sand for the concrete crossties, a shortage of dump cars, and logistical problems, as being some of the principal reasons for the delay; and this delay could be further extended due to a lack of funds in national currency, the basis of the project.

Out of a total of \$150 million made available for the project by various international organizations, including a portion in national currency granted by the Bank of Mozambique, until now the total amount spent has come to about \$70 million to \$80 million.

Restrictions imposed by Bank of Mozambique in handling the transaction in meticaïs has caused the project to be delayed; meanwhile, items of a priority nature have been expensed through foreign currency in the project as a whole.

As a result of this delay, the implementation of the project might be extended until the middle of 1992 instead of January of the same year as initially foreseen.

Anibal Manave asserted that the irregular supply of sand for the construction of the concrete crossties is the result of the lack of punctuality in the payment of that component to the suppliers, that part of the project being handicapped by a shortage of national currency.

According to our source of information, the shortage of national funds has made it impossible to achieve certain objectives anticipated by the project, such as the purchase of additional construction materials and, in some instances, food for the approximately 1,500 workers involved in the work.

The Bank of Mozambique, which since the beginning of the project has been the principal supplier of funds in national currency, asserts that as of the end of this month it will no longer cover the costs of the project and that, as a result, the Mozambique Railroad [CFM] will have to provide for alternative sources," said the deputy director of the BMS.

Anibal Manave said that the Limpopo Corridor restoration project will soon be receiving an additional 45 dump cars as the result of financial arrangements made by the European Economic Community [EEC] in the amount of \$3 million.

The project now has only 10 dump cars, insufficient to cover the needs of the work in question. Anibal Manave said that to carry out the entire program BMS needs at least 60 vehicles of this type.

Speaking with our reporting staff, Luis Ah-Hoy, deputy general manager of the National Company of Ports and Mozambique Railroads [ENPCFM], said that the lack of funds in national currency is due, on the one hand, to difficulties being experienced by his company in paying its financial obligations and, on the other, to credit restrictions imposed by the national currency arrangement, thereby impeding the progress of the work.

Citing the Bank of Mozambique, Luis Ah-Hoy said that the country's domestic savings are at a low point and that this has resulted in restrictions in the amount of national currency available for projects such as the Limpopo Corridor restoration.

Our source of information also said that, although the project has funds in the form of foreign currency, its conversion into national currency is impracticable inasmuch as this aspect is not yet authorized by the project's financiers.

Bank of Mozambique Comments

To clarify the situation, our newspaper contacted Augusto Candida, administrator of credit and liabilities operations in the Bank of Mozambique, who asserted that the definition of overall financing pertaining to the port and railroad sector took into account not only certain factors of a macroeconomic nature but also the principle that bank credit is always a complement of self-financing.

He then went on to say that it must be taken into account that the restoration of infrastructures such as those of the port and railroad sector involves considerable sums, whose origin cannot be limited to bank credit. "My opinion is that we should call upon other resources—namely, loans by bondholders, capital increases, and/or direct loans by the state," he concluded.

* Financial Crisis Threatens Coal Enterprise

91AF0125C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
5 Oct 90 p 1

[Text] The Mozambique National Coal Company [CARBOMOC], in Tete Province, is threatened with a shut-down of its operation if the economic and financial situation continues to be as critical as it has been in the last six months.

John Kachamila, minister of mineral resources, who made this announcement at a meeting held recently with the employees of that company, also said that one of the measures to be taken in the immediate future is the layoff of 25 percent of the work force, the aim being to minimize the financial expenses of that coal-mining facility.

In addition to this measure, Kachamila also said that other workers of an advanced age would be retired and replaced with medium- and higher-skilled workers in areas of activities to be determined by the company.

He explained that this reduction in the work force will be subject to certain conditions—namely, the payment of 50 percent of their monthly wages, housing rights, and exemption from the payment of rent, water and electricity.

"We are not trying to expel or exonerate the workers but just give them some time off to rest awhile until the situation improves. For this reason we are accepting the principle of paying 50 percent of the monthly wages and providing for other social amenities, being well aware that the training of miners takes time," said Kachamila speaking on the spur of the moment.

CARBOMOC is currently receiving subsidies from the state to the tune of one billion meticaïs annually to help pay the wages of the company's 1,356 workers, the electricity, and other supplementary expenditures.

The 190 million meticaïs received by the company for the sale of coal in the first six months of this year seems rather insignificant when compared to the 600 million meticaïs spent by the company during the same period for the payment of wages, electricity, and other expenses.

CARBOMOC's economic and financial situation deteriorated during the past eight years when the armed bandits cut off all railway communication between Moatize and the port of Beira.

The company now has hundreds of thousands of tons of coal ready to be delivered to the port of Beira for

subsequent distribution at the domestic level (Acucareira de Mafambisse) and abroad (Malawi).

According to our information, CARBOMOC has received requests from a number of Western countries interested in purchasing coal from Moatize, but there has been no further development in this connection due to the high costs of railway transportation.

It will be remembered that, due to the company's negative economic and financial situation, CARBOMOC had to shut down three of the five mines operating until a short time ago.

Meanwhile, CARBOMOC is now carrying out the decisions reached at the aforementioned meeting arranged by Minister John Kachamila. At the same time, any workers forced to take time off may be employed by other companies, provided they receive the 50 percent stipulated by CARBOMOC.

* Rural Exodus to Cities Increases in Zambezia

91AF0125D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
6 Oct 90 p 3

[Text] The rural exodus of people to cities, villages, and administrative posts is continuing to increase in Zambezia Province as a result of military operations against the armed bandits, according to a report issued by the Provincial Commission of Emergency [CPE] and presented at the last administrative session.

In the way of explanation, the report discloses that there are presently 924,192 displaced persons housed in about 200 centers in the province in addition to 339,755 persons affected by emergency conditions in that part of the country.

According to the aforementioned report, despite the fact that more than 190,000 displaced persons have achieved self-sufficiency from a nutritional standpoint due to gainful employment, considerable emergency assistance is still needed to cope with the enormous difficulties facing many of the citizens as a result of the war which has been plaguing the country for many years.

"Between June and July of this year," the CPE report reads, "the number of needy people increased from 719,000 to 736,986 persons" and most of the problems involved in the Zambezia situation are occurring in Milange, Ile, Nipiode, Pebane, Naburi, Morrumbala, Namacurra, Lugela, Gile, and Mocuba.

A source involved in the emergency situation in that part of the country told NOTICIAS that the number of people affected and subsequently in need of nutritional assistance is much greater than anticipated in the appeal made to the international community for the 1990-91 two-year period.

According to the pledge made by that community, more than 311,000 of Zambezia's displaced persons will not benefit from foreign nutritional assistance.

To make matters worse, there is information to the effect that the food supply is virtually exhausted and that it is necessary to replenish the food reserves maintained in the warehouses of the DPCCN [Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters].

Meanwhile, the source revealed that between the months of July and August a number of emergency measures were taken to alleviate the plight of the thousands of citizens in dire need of assistance.

According to information obtained by our newspaper, it is estimated that about 8,531 tons of various products were channeled by the DPCCN to some of the displaced persons particularly hard hit by the emergency situation prevailing in the province.

According to our sources, these quantities represent only 51 percent of the nutritional needs of the displaced persons. The lack of nutritional products is given as the principal reason for the plight of a number of other displaced and needy people who, for a period of two years, received little or no assistance whatever. This is especially the case of some parts of Naburi, northeast of the coastal district of Pebane.

The administrative post of Naburi now depends exclusively on aerial transportation, but this rarely occurs due to a lack of funds.

Meanwhile, the local government and emergency authorities are studying the feasibility of resuming maritime transportation to that area, interrupted for more than 10 years for security reasons.

The study involving the resumption of maritime transportation is in the hands of an international nongovernmental British organization, ACTION AID, which now has two vessels at its disposal, one recently restored for the task of transporting emergency products to the districts of Maganja da Costa and Pebane, in particular.

*** German Group To Aid Nampula Displaced Persons**

91AF0125E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
9 Oct 90 p 3

[Text] The nongovernmental organization of projects involving emergency assistance programs, known as German Agrarian Action [AAA], will now be assisting about 25,000 persons per month in Nampula Province where it has been in operation since April of this year. The funds being allocated for this purpose are estimated to be about 2.5 million marks.

The assistance being provided by that German organization will benefit the displaced persons now located in the districts of Malema, Ribaua, areas to the east of the province, Ilha de Mozambique, and Mossuril, located in the west.

In cooperation with the Provincial Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters [DPCCN], the AAA will supply the needy people of

these districts with food and other necessities, such as salt, oil, corn, soap, and beans, most of which can be obtained at the local market. According to Patrizia Papinutti, responsible for heading up the organization's emergency programs in Nampula, in June the AAA, which was just getting started, distributed 9,200 blankets to displaced and needy people in the Ilha de Mozambique district and Mossuril, as well as to those located in some of the health centers of the provincial capital.

Patrizia Papinutti also said that in that same period the organization which she directs in Nampula Province distributed 100 tons of corn to displaced persons in Ilha de Mozambique and Mossuril.

"We believe and foresee that beginning in October our activities will be intensified, since the difficulties we previously encountered have been resolved," she said.

She also said that a 30-ton truck has been put at the disposal of those in need of assistance to make their efforts more effective; the truck will operate within the boundaries of Nacala, Nampula, and Ilha de Mozambique where there is less traffic. Meanwhile, six additional trucks with a total capacity of 30 tons will operate within the interior, or more precisely, in Malema and Ribaua.

Explaining why she chose these areas, Patrizia Papinutti said that she adopted the philosophy of linking the interior with the coast, just as it will serve to stimulate the marketing of products produced by the peasants.

Our source also said that a small project is anticipated in the area of education, the purpose being to support the efforts of orphanages in agricultural production under the guidance of this governmental institution. Moreover, the same organization plans to offer the Provincial Department of Education a five-ton truck to assist it in its efforts.

At the same time, the AAA in Nampula is working jointly with the Emergency Program for the Distribution of Seeds and Agricultural Tools (PESU) promoted by the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture.

The AAA, headquartered in Bonn, has been operating in Mozambique since 1974 with initial projects in Sofala and Manica. In these areas the organization worked jointly with Red Barna in supporting displaced persons who had settled in the district of Gorongosa; it also has another project in Cabo Delgado with the same objective.

Patrizia Papinutti asserted that the financing of her organization's projects in Mozambique ranks second in terms of priority, Angola being the first.

It also operates in South Africa, the Philippines, Latin America, and other countries on a lesser scale, with financing arranged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Economic Cooperation, and the European Economic Community, in addition to the organization's own funds.

* Challenges Facing Land Reform Program

91AF0106A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese
16 Sep 90 pp 10-16

[Article by Fernando Manuel]

[Text] Two and a half years since this country began its land distribution process, the only thing to be said is that nothing is going according to plan: it is a race with an increasing number of competitors, in which those who have been in it the longest are the least favored; that, in any case, is the view of those whose way of life is, in fact, in the land.

Post-independence Mozambique's history of land use and utilization opened on 27 April 1988 like a rifle-shot, clearing the way for what was believed to be a new era: on that day, in Marracuene, Maputo Province, President Joaquim Chissano granted full possession of land to 17 peasants to whom he granted titles. This gesture symbolized the beginning on a national scale of a process that would embody a long-established right.

There were celebrations in the streets of Marracuene that sunny 27 April, and the festivities were expected to be repeated in other parts of the country, as the titles began to be issued to more and more peasants.

After two and a half years, however, there is neither cause for celebration nor optimism with respect to the development of such activities in the future, at least in terms of what could happen in the south. On the contrary: there have been observations of land distribution irregularities, incomprehensibly overlapping authority, and arbitrary land expropriations, in an overall system in which the one with the greatest cause for complaint is the anonymous peasant, who is often the victim of circumstances, because he revolves outside of the laws that should protect him.

Since the date when the Chief of State passed through here in 1988, only 50 more titles have been distributed in Marracuene, according to information provided to TEMPO by District Agriculture Director Antonio August Mandlate. Comparing this number with what the district defined as its goal of 3,473 titles "for the first phase"—which is still in effect "but which should have already been completed"—the restricted progress of the land distribution can clearly be seen.

It is evident that there are problems: Antonio Mandlate says that "the process has 'more or less' stopped" since April 1988, sufficient time "to reorganize ourselves" in order to catch up with events. The reorganization consisted of assembling a team of personnel assigned to the tasks of surveying the areas, distributing them, and issuing the titles.

Marracuene is a zone whose land is organized along traditional boundaries: during colonial times, these boundaries bumped up against those of the region's original inhabitants, who were pushed inexorably toward the higher and less productive lands, while the

large landowners who practiced industrial-scale agriculture occupied the more fertile low zones, on the banks of the Incomati River. In fact, access to these lands on the part of Mozambicans only became possible after independence: numerous cooperatives and peasant associations were established here.

The peasants' occupation of the Incomati Valley occurred, according to Antonio Mandlate, "using only precarious titles." Today, when faced with the need to either redistribute or evacuate the land, "the cooperativists act like, and consider themselves to be, owners of the land, but in fact they are not." And consequently they do not leave.

The idea was to perform a new survey and distribution "in agreement with the existing cooperativists," and to allocate to each peasant family a half hectare per person: "If the family had ten members, they would be given five hectares." The rest, said Antonio Mandlate, "would be assigned to displaced persons."

What is happening is that until access to and use of the land can be regulated, parcels in the lower zone are indiscriminately occupied by cooperativists and associations without taking into account their real work capabilities: time "and experience demonstrate that in fact they do not have such capabilities."

Give the Land for the Sake of Giving

The problem, however, involves not only the collective forms of organization of agricultural production in Marracuene: in the areas granted to the large state agricultural enterprises the same issue is raised. Regarding the land distribution system, the District Agricultural Director stated that "a series of conversations was held" with some enterprises in the agricultural sector, which resulted in their evacuation from areas occupied up to that point by the agricultural enterprises.

Despite everything, in the Incomati Valley large tracts of land occupied by private farmers are currently prospering, though some are more profitable than others. None are of less than 100 hectares, according to Antonio Mandlate, who explains that because of inexperience or haste, no request submitted to them requires less than 100 hectares. An additional result of inexperience was that "we initially made the mistake of giving those lands," some of them of almost 500 hectares, with no work having been performed on some 50 percent of the cases since the land was requested: "Some of them requested the land and are keeping it in reserve while waiting for peace," in order to be able to work; still others have taken advantage of the program to register themselves as farmers in order to have "the means of acquiring wagons to make 'chapa 100.'"

Nevertheless, the peasants themselves have been deserted, caught in the trap of having occupied and worked the land without having title to it; some 180 families are in such a predicament on a private parcel in Marracuene—their bad luck was to have benefitted from

the "generosity" of the owner of the land on which they are living, who opened 180 hectares to them and is waiting for them to harvest their crops "for them to transfer." This is a rare occurrence.

In a meeting with Prime Minister Dr. Mario Machungo in Maputo last March, the peasants clearly accused private individuals or entities of land usurpation without title of ownership. Even in January, at a provincial-level meeting in Maputo, the peasants called for reformulation of the Lands Law so that the possibility of expropriation by businessmen and state enterprises would be eliminated.

And it has come to a critical juncture in the George Dimitrov barrio in Maputo, where some 400 peasants from the People's Strength Agricultural Association are at the point of going out "to the streets," as the lands where they had been working have been occupied.

The Association was founded in 1987, and includes peasants who had actually been working in the zone "since 1969," when the property belonged to a private individual, a Portuguese. The property, "belonging to Mr. Melenas," totalled 52 hectares in area and was divided into two blocks, and according to the peasants' version, they have grown vegetables since 1969 in exchange for ensuring maintenance of the area around the mango trees that the owner raised there and which still exist. The Association became involved in a project supported by the Italians involving mechanized pumps, the construction of dikes, and land parceling, until they were hit by the news this year that the land had been ceded "because of abandonment," a status "incomprehensibly" assigned to it by the local bureaucracy—the Incentive Group, the Agrarian House, and the Urban District Number 5 Administration.

"At first, they told us there were no problems, that we would be able to work together," says Association President Carolina Lilita Munguambe. It seems that the area of land to be occupied was guaranteed to be limited to the mango grove, allowing us to keep the lower zone where the vegetables were produced. "However," says Fernando Mauane, who is responsible for production, "every day that passed we saw the employees marking the land with stones, and going far beyond the agreed-upon area." In fact, according to our observations, the marks had "swallowed" a total of 29 entire hectares of land. "We can't believe it," say the peasants, with whom we spoke at length, "and we are waiting to see what will happen next."

Things are somewhat worse in the northern parcel; the peasants were not even given time to harvest the produce they had already planted; "everything was destroyed and the people chased away," a task carried out by private individuals who reclaimed the land.

Urban District Number 5 Administrator Celestino Cumaio claims "that is not true."

According to Celestino Cumaio, the current occupant of the southern parcel is operating only in the area of the mango grove, considered "abandoned land." What is happening, according to his account, is that normally when there is a land dispute, if the person that has benefitted has some connection with the authorities, "people rush to explain the facts based upon that detail."

The peasants, on the other hand, claim that is not the case. "During that whole time, we have always wanted to request that land. But they always told us to wait." Perhaps that is why the case was taken to the Agricultural Zones Bureau, and not content with the result, was taken to the Procurator of the Republic. The response is now pending.

In the view of the Urban District Number 5 Administrator, everything revolves around a "mass agitation" brought to a head "by Fernando Mauane."

Who Has the Power To Assign Land?

The "watchword" that some family and private farmers in Boane heard was 'wait' when they tried to request legal title to the lands they had, in fact, worked for years. Meanwhile, time is passing, new faces arrive every day, and lands are being evacuated in favor of foreign enterprises, who seem bent upon occupying the best.

In Boane there is a problem of conflicting claims that seems to be a thread without beginning or end: Danhane Henrique Honwana, 61, Judge President of Barrio 25 June and Commission President responsible for land distribution, says that some time after work began in 1988, "many people appeared to complain" that the land they had been assigned by the commission "had been given to others by the Party."

The "Party," according to Danhane Honwana, "created so much confusion" that they had to call negotiations, until "the First Secretary decided that the land should go to the people to whom we had assigned it."

It was a short-lived victory, however, or rather none at all, since the order was not carried out. Rather, something even more serious occurred, since "one day when we were in the middle of work, the Boane commission arrived with the First Secretary. They were six people. They went to an area we had already begun to parcel out and distribute to private individuals, and they gave six hectares to each member of the commission. That paved the way."

A way that would lead to practically anybody assigning the land "to anybody else he wanted."

The comings and goings have lasted since 1988 and have become more complicated over time, and it seems that there is no one with the titles, strength or interest to put an end to it. Meanwhile, those who can, continue to authorize land titles to those they believe should receive them, a situation aggravated by the fact that demand is constantly increasing.

The Urban District Number 5 Administrator says that philosophically, all the conflicts that have developed during the land distribution process are natural, because "the land is not elastic" and because "where there is shortage there is always conflict."

That is part of the explanation. But it is far from explaining everything. It is increasingly clear that the situation now requires fewer explanations and more of a real attempt to apply the law in accordance with the satisfaction of those who depend upon it, both to work and to live.

And the case is such that, as Celestino Cumaio recognized, the number of requests to occupy land for various purposes has been increasing significantly over the past three years. As administrator of a district comprising 12 barrios around Maputo, he says that even in Zimpeto, where until a short time ago no one wanted to go, "it is no longer easy to find space;" "there are one thousand and some parcels to distribute, in addition to another 500 for people in the cemetery extension," he says.

A truth recognized only with great difficulty is that contrary to the thinking in 1988, the process is following a tortuous route: a situation in which references to bribes and abuses of power are increasingly common on the part of those for whom the only weapon is to put their backs into their work, trusting in the law's impartiality.

The times are long past when Danhane Honwana said that those "who made the decisions about the land were ourselves." The land, as President Chissano has said, "is the mother who gives us life, the mother who gives us milk, the mother who teaches us the culture of our people."

In addition, the land will come to be the focus of recriminations, confrontation, and misunderstandings, unless the problem is addressed with the seriousness it deserves. "Land for those who work it" is not merely a slogan.

Seychelles

* 'Hard Times' Predicted as Result of Gulf Crisis

91AF0132B Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION
in English 4 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] President Albert Rene has warned the Seychelles they will have to tighten their belts over the next year or two so as to weather the economic shock cause by the Gulf crisis.

Speaking on his return yesterday from a state visit to India and official talks with the European Economic Community (EEC), France and Belgium these past three weeks, Mr Rene said the present increase in international fuel prices was already costing the country an extra \$22 million (more than R100 [rupees] million) in foreign exchange this year alone.

"We are going to have to go through many difficulties during the rest of this year and over the next year or two also because of the effects of the Gulf crisis," he said.

Already the prices Seychelles was paying for its fuel had soared by more than 100 percent in some cases, Mr Rene said, putting growing pressure on the economy.

"The Seychellois should begin to prepare themselves for hard times in the next one or two years," he said, adding that one of the aims of his visits to Europe and India was to find ways of lessening the shock.

"And a shock it will be, considering the way our economy has grown these past years," Mr Rene said.

While the Government expected the economy to continue growing this year also, the amount by which it would grow would be reduced compared to past years, he said.

One of the counter measures which would have to be taken would be to cut down on imports now that more foreign exchange had to be diverted to pay for fuel.

"We will have to find ways to make up for this loss by increasing earnings or reducing foreign payments," Mr Rene said.

"We will have to come together even more and further strengthen our unity to weather the bad times ahead," he added.

The President, who left Seychelles on September 9, first flew to Paris for talks with French leaders. There was a "great possibility" France would further improve its relations with Seychelles, he said.

Mr Rene's next stop was Brussels for meetings with Belgian, EEC and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) officials. During his visit, the first official trip to Belgium by a Seychelles Head of State, the two countries signed an agreement for a R25-million [rupees] Belgian loan to help finance the reclamation of more land from the sea along Mahe's east coast.

"The attitude of the Belgian government towards us is very positive and was further strengthened by my visit," the President said.

Reviewing briefly his state visit to India, his third since 1980, Mr Rene described the sub-continent as a "privileged partner" in the region.

New Delhi provided Seychelles with another loan worth 7.2 million Seychelles rupees and agreed to more technical assistance, scholarships and bilateral exchanges.

* Increased Indian Cooperation Reported

91AF0132A Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION
in English 1 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] President Albert Rene's third state visit to India has yielded Seychelles another loan of 25 million Indian

rupees (7.2 million Seychelles rupees), more technical assistance and scholarships and an increase in bilateral exchanges in various fields.

The President arrived in India last week from his first official visit to Belgium for talks with Belgian leaders and European Community and ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) officials.

"The existing strong bonds of friendship and cooperation between India and Seychelles are set to improve further following President France Albert Rene's visit to India," the Ministry of Planning and External Relations said in a statement yesterday.

It said last week's visit included "wide-ranging" discussions with President Ramaswamy Venkataraman, Prime Minister V.P. Singh and other Indian dignitaries.

They exchanged views on the debt problem, the Gulf crisis, the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and the need to hasten political changes in South Africa, among other topics.

President Rene and his hosts also held talks on ways of improving bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

"Cooperation between India and Seychelles is exemplary; it is free from any form of compulsion and there are no strings attached," President Rene was quoted as saying in a speech at a banquet hosted by the Indian President.

Accompanying him were six officials from the ministries of Planning and External Relations and of Finance, and from the Seychelles People's Defence Forces.

India has provided Seychelles with a substantial amount of aid over the past year, the ministry statement noted. This includes important lines of credit, balance of payments support, commodity aid, the sending of Indian experts to Seychelles and training in India for Seychellois in various fields.

"As a result of President Rene's visit to Delhi strong prospects for bilateral cooperation have emerged," the ministry said. "This was underscored on the first day of the President's visit when India extended to Seychelles yet another line of credit worth 25 million Indian rupees."

The two sides also signed a memorandum of understanding outlining the sectors identified for cooperation. This followed the first meeting of the Indo-Seychelles Joint Commission.

The agreement provides for cooperation in such fields as civil aviation, petroleum exploration and setting up joint ventures with a view to expanding economic and trade relations between Seychelles and India.

India agreed to send 10 more experts to Seychelles and receive 20 trainees. The two sides also agreed to increase bilateral exchanges in sports, culture and health.

Zambia

Tembo Discusses Political, Economic Situation

MB0511173090 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 5 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] These are exciting times for Zambians. Political life is in a state of flux. President Kenneth Kaunda seems dead against the return to multiparty politics but he is clearly gearing up for a battle with the opposition in the form of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy [MMD].

The MMD itself, with Trade Union Leader Fred Chiluba at the helm, is steaming ahead but some complain that it is such a broad (?church) that electoral victory would only bring instability for the country. They point particularly to the presence of military men among the movement's supporters. For example, Lieutenant Mwamba Luchembe, who launched a coup attempt in May only to be caught, tried, and later released.

Perhaps a more substantial figure is General Christon Tembo, who was tried for coup plotting and jailed in 1988. He was released earlier this year and very quickly declared for the multipartyists.

In Lusaka, Mike Hall asked him what had motivated his entry into politics.

[Begin recording] [Tembo] I think my country has been mismanaged for a long time now, for 26 years now and I think a Zambian is now poorer than he was at the time of independence. I think it is time we made a change. We have always been told that the economy will improve. Personally, I do not see any hope of this economy improving under the present tired leaders.

[Hall] The government is saying that people like you, who have been in the Army and have now joined the multiparty movement, are in fact more interested in armed struggle rather than democratic change. Do you think that, if things go wrong in Zambia, that might be a tactic you would resort to?

[Tembo] Well, I am hoping that things do not go wrong. I think we have come this far so far and it would be (?a real) pity for us to break this process which we have already started and I think that the international community will not be happy with us at all. I hope that we will maintain this democratic process but it, in the end, one has to decide what action to take in order to (?serve) [word indistinct] the country, then I think I would do that in consultation with many other people.

[Hall] You were arrested in October 1988. Why were you arrested? What were you and your colleagues planning?

[Tembo] Well, I was in Germany at the time and I got a message that I must come back to Zambia for a meeting with the president and which I dutifully did come and,

shortly after my arrival, I was arrested and charged with treason. Now, the trial which ensued did not bring out anything concrete against me and I am quite sure that, at the end of the day, I was going to be acquitted together with my colleagues. Therefore, my conscience is very clear on this matter that the charges of treason against me have not been proven.

[Hall] But you were planning something?

[Tembo] Well, as I said, we had discussions on the bad state of the economy, and we are all convinced that something should be done to remedy the plight of the Zambian people.

[Hall] You are said to be a popular figure among the Armed Forces still. It is said you were a popular army commander. Do you think you could still rally the troops?

[Tembo] Oh, well, that is a difficult for me to answer because I would be blowing my own trumpet. All I can say is that I wish the boys well and I am sure that [word indistinct] are together.

[Hall] Some people have said that you could possibly be a presidential challenger that maybe if you have ambitions in that direction you might stand for president. What is your comment on that?

[Tembo] I will let the people decide and I also I will let my movement decide. (?Right) now, we have not yet agreed or nominated any presidential candidate but I will let the movement decide and I will let the people decide. [end recording]

Zimbabwe

State Not To Take Land From 'Productive' Farmers

MB0411130890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1251 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Harare Nov 4 SAPA—Zimbabwean Vice President Joshua Nkomo said this weekend journalists should

be better informed to explain the rapid and dynamic changes in the country to the people, reports ZIANA national news agency.

Addressing the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ) fund raising dinner dance Nkomo said the country needed well trained journalists more than ever to explain issues such as the new land policy and the trade liberalisation.

He said the new land policy would be announced by the end of 1990 and the government will not grab land from the productive farmers as was feared by some white farmers.

He appealed to trade union leaders not to concentrate on fighting for higher wages only, but also exert their efforts on creating employment for the masses. He urged the society to spend their time doing more worthwhile things to enhance their knowledge of what would be going on in the country.

Nkomo said editors of media organisations in the country should see to it young up-coming journalists were given the necessary guidance to keep up high standards of press coverage in the country.

Government Lacks Funds for Resettlement Program

MB0511105790 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0900 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] The Zimbabwean Ministry of agriculture says in a report that the government does not have enough money to implement its new land resettlement policy.

The Zimbabwean Government has bought 3 million hectares of land for resettlement since independence in 1980 on a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis. However, the government said recently that it would, if necessary, use a ministerial right to designate any land for resettlement.

About 52,000 families have been resettled, and the government intends to resettle another 110,000. The Ministry of Agriculture report says, however, that implementation of the land redistribution policy is being hampered by lack of funds and suitable manpower.

Benin

Soglo Warns Journalists 'Seeking To Destroy Him'

AB0511211690 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] A row has broken out between Benin's transitional government and the local press. Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo held a press conference at the weekend and said journalists were making groundless allegations about his wife and himself. From Benin, Karim Okanla telexed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] At the start of the press conference, it was announced that Mr. Soglo would only talk about the forthcoming local elections and other financial matters. But instead, the prime minister accused Benin's journalists of seeking to destroy him through inaccurate reports and plain lies. The prime minister said he had evidence that some newsmen had received money from hostile politicians intent on ruining his credibility. He said that the journalists were playing with fire, and he suggested that they relearn good professional standards.

When making his accusations, the prime minister specifically turned to one journalist in the audience who had accused him of spending scarce government resources on expensive overseas trips. Mr. Soglo commented, and I quote, You ain't seen nothing yet, and that he would be flying to Japan soon. The prime minister added that he was just waiting for the time when another responsible journalist made groundless accusations against him or his spouse. He threatened, and again I quote, you will bite at the lure, and I will get you all right. As a reaction to the prime minister's threats, the national television station refused to broadcast the press conference. [end recording]

Ivory Coast

Human Rights League Denounces Arrest of Activists

AB0611085890 Paris AFP in English 0254 GMT
6 Nov 90

[Text] Abidjan, Nov 6 (AFP)—Ivory Coast opposition party activists are still being arrested and the country is in a virtual state of siege following last month's presidential election, the Ivory Coast League of Human Rights charged on Monday. In a statement, the League estimated some 120 people belonging to the opposition Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) had been arrested between the election date of October 28 and October 31 and that arrests were continuing.

Felix Houphouet-Boigny, 85, was re-elected president with an overwhelming 82 percent of the vote in the

country's first ever multiparty vote, in which he was opposed by Laurent Gbagbo, the FPI candidate. The opposition charged there had been massive vote rigging and has asked the Supreme Court to nullify the election.

The president of the Ivory Coast League of Human Rights, Rene Degni-Segui, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that about 30 people were still being detained at the Gallieni military camp, where the Army has its headquarters, and an undetermined number at police stations. He said most detainees had been beaten. The League, in its statement, called on the military and the police to halt their acts of "police brutality."

On voting day, supporters of the opposition candidate smashed several ballot boxes, insisting they had been stuffed before the polls were opened. The interior minister, Leon Konan Koffi, denounced what he called "Mr. Gbagbo's gang of fanatics."

Group Urges Teachers Union Congress in Dec

AB0311205590 Abidjan IVOIRE DIMANCHE
in French 2-8 Nov 90 p 19

[Josette Barry Article: "Crisis Within the National Union for Research and Higher Education (SYNARES)"]

[Excerpts] On Tuesday, 23 October at 1910 a little over a hundred higher education teachers and researchers were holding a meeting in the Robert Leon amphitheater. It was rather an informal meeting which was being held "in place of" the general meeting of SYNARES, which had been convened by the National Executive Bureau [BEN] but postponed at the last minute. [passage omitted]

The meeting of about a hundred people that day at the Robert Leon amphitheater summarily decided to address a petition to the Administrative Council Bureau. Why? "To protest or better still to request the suspension of BEN activities and call for the convening of an extraordinary congress in mid-December." Someone said: "They have crushed the silent majority long enough."

A few days later, Mr. Niamkey Koffi whom we finally managed to contact, told us in our editorial offices, "The BEN decided unilaterally and inopportunely to postpone this meeting, which everybody has long awaited. We think from the moment it failed to notify its members in a timely manner, it became necessary for it to let the assembly decide right away on the postponement. We maintain that the BEN has used antidemocratic procedures," he declared. What justified postponing this meeting?

Mr. Ahibo Coffy, a lecturer at the Faculty of Science and Technology and SYNARES general treasurer answered: "We have been informed that disturbing measures were taken after a series of meetings held by a small group of teachers and researchers with the support of a person in

authority in order to prevent the normal holding of the 23 October general meeting. Violence was slated to take place. According to what we know, it would have justified the intervention of the security forces. All this put the security of our members in peril, and that was the reason for the postponement." Mr. Ahibo specified: "I repeat, postponement."

This threat appeared serious enough in the eyes of BEN members to justify the decision it took, "that of postponing this all-important meeting." Then he went on: "Better still, we addressed a letter to the authorities (rector, Ministry of Education) to put to them the problem of security for, if this meeting had taken place, it would have had incalculable results. We will convene a general meeting as soon as possible, after we have discussed the issue."

And yet, a week before this general meeting SYNARES members assured us that nothing serious could disrupt the life of the union. They were categorical about this. We had similar responses from most of the lecturers we interviewed at the university. They seemed to play down the two open letters, signed by Mr. Constant Roux, lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine and addressed to the BEN and its secretary general, Marcel Ette, through the columns of FRATERNITE MATIN (26 September and 16 October 1990).

In fact, the open letters make one think that the trade union is experiencing a deep crisis. They requested the holding of an extraordinary general assembly as soon as possible to "evaluate and (if necessary) reorganize the trade union."

Constant Roux was present in the amphitheater on that 23 October 1990. In the first place, letters circulating on the campus accuse the BEN of wanting to draw SYNARES into one political party. Which of the parties? The letters do not say clearly. They are signed by a certain committee of vigilance and trade union action... These are positions that Niamkey Koffi shares even if he asserts that he is not "the invisible head" of this committee of vigilance, as some teachers in the higher institutions believe. Mr. Koffi is of the opinion that the current BEN should have summoned a general assembly meeting, and even a congress, long ago inasmuch as according to him, its term of office ended in May 1988. That term of office has been extended by the board of governors because, according to Mr. Ahibo, the atmosphere was not favorable for a congress. Mr. Ahibo thinks that all the methods that have been adopted by "some of his colleagues" are useless, because the issue of the congress has been on the agenda since 1989. Within SYNARES we (the BEN) have no intention of keeping ourselves in power in the leadership of the trade union. We are asking our comrades to keep calm, because we are democrats. And the multiparty process we have embarked upon in the country suits us perfectly, because we have fought for it." [quotation marks as published]

This is the answer for those who think that the BEN does not want some teachers or researchers to sympathize with the ruling power. "We have made it a point to establish the responsibility of SYNARES in this demonstration because it was causing confusion," Mr. Ahibo Coffy responded.

On one side, Niamkey Koffi feels that the BEN often has an autocratic attitude when it comes to making decisions binding on SYNARES. The signatories to the petition are reproaching the BEN for its opposing the establishment of committees of self-defense advocated by the rector as well as the 20 September protest. In the face of all this, Mr. Ahibo Coffy asserted that the BEN members have remained calm. "We have been acting as a National Execution Bureau, and we have the mandate to do so. We will not respond to all this because we feel that we must demonstrate a certain level of high morals. Why are we not reproached for having asked all the teachers to report for work on 3 September? What they do not forgive is that we have fought for SYNARES to remain an autonomous trade union. [passage omitted]

Liberia

Nimley Flees; Johnson, AFL, ECOMOG Accord

AB0511175090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 5 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Liberia, it seems that Brigadier General David Nimley, the commander of the rump of the late President Samuel Doe's forces, has fled the country today with his family, leaving the fields clear for someone else to step into his shoes. From Monrovia, Scott Sterns reports:

[Begin Sterns recording] ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group] sources say they were notified by Armed Forces of Liberia [AFL] staff that Nimley had disappeared overnight and Field Commander Joshua Dogonyaro wasted no time in striking a new agreement between the AFL and Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

In a press conference at Johnson's Mining Camp headquarters, Dogonyaro announced that AFL Colonel J. Hezekiel Bowen would now be working directly with ECOMOG and Johnson to plan [a] joint offensive against the rebels of Charles Taylor. Johnson objected to specific men within the AFL, accused of participating in government death squads. But after being assured they would be excluded from a combined force, he said he was willing to fight side by side with the AFL to bring peace to the country.

Over the past week, Johnson has accused ECOMOG of failing to control government troops he said were harassing refugees in Eastern Monrovia. Dogonyaro said Bowen was now responsible for the conduct of his troops

and hoped that this new understanding would stop the unfortunate molestation of civilians.

There was no comment from any of the groups concerning the nature of Nimley's exit or where he might have gone. The airports are closed, Taylor controls the land routes, two Nigerian ships left the Free Port early this morning.

In an interview last week, Nimley said he would not accept the evacuation of the predominantly Krahn troop camped around the Executive Mansion because Monrovia is our home. [end recording]

Niger

Five-Day General Strike Launched 5 November

AB0511124290 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT
5 Nov 90

[Text] Niamey, Nov 5 (AFP)—Niger's trade unions launched a five-day general strike here Monday to protest at budget austerity measures reached in an agreement earlier this year with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, Niger's news agency reported. The strike, the longest ever organized throughout the West African country by the umbrella Union of Trade Unions (USTN), was being observed in the capital, affecting primarily the airport, markets, banks, insurance agencies and road transport, the agency said.

Only senior civil servants went to work Monday and scaled-down basic services were being provided in some key ministries.

The work stoppage had been declared illegal by the authorities, who said they had satisfactorily met most of the workers' demands.

Among the other demands set forward by the USTN was a national conference on the country's political future and legal action against officials who were responsible for a crackdown on a student strike in February during which authorities said three students had been killed and 33 others injured.

The government has announced that a commission set up in June to revise the country's constitution "to allow for political pluralism" will present its draft documents November 15 to be examined in December.

On Friday, Niger's head of state Ali Saibou met union leaders but was not able to convince them to abandon their call for this week's strike. Since June the USTN has called several strikes including those in the transport, airport and administrative sectors to press for better pay in the public sector and better chances for promotion in the private sector.

'Largely Observed' in Niamey

AB0511165290 Dakar PANA in English
1526 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Niamey, 5 Nov (ANP/PANA)—Workers in Niger on Monday began a five-day strike called by the Niger Union of Trade Unions to protest against the economic measures contained in the agreement the government has concluded with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. A round-up by the NIGER NEWS AGENCY (ANP) Monday morning showed that the strike was largely observed in Niamey the capital, where the main markets, shopping areas, banks and the airport were closed. Very few people reported at their work places in ministries and companies, although petrol stations and small retail businesses continued to operate as usual.

The Trade Union is also demanding for the convening of a national conference on the political situation and the country's future and the trial of those responsible for the clash between security forces and striking students on 9 February, in which three people died and 33 were injured.

Speaking at a meeting with Trade Union representatives Friday, President Ali Saibou said his government regarded the strike as illegal. However, that meeting failed to convince the trade unionists to call off the strike action. [passage omitted]

Nigeria

* Five Basins To Boost Oil, Gas Production

91AF0129A Lagos DAILY TIMES in English
9 Oct 90 pp 1, 14

[Article by Biola Ogedengbe and Olu Olatimehin]

[Text] The Federal Government took the first step forward in its bid to boost oil and gas production within the next five years, in the country, with the offer yesterday in Lagos of 253,000 square kilometres of fields for exploration.

The fields which have been divided into 136 blocks are located in five sedimentary basins of the country's off-shore and mainland.

At a press briefing yesterday, Petroleum Resources Minister, Professor Jibril Aminu identified the basins, as the Niger-Delta, Benin, Anambra, Chad and Benue troughs.

At the Niger Delta Basin, six blocks covering some 10,300 sq. km were carved out on-shore, five blocks covering 6,000 sq. km. were from the continental shelf and the 15 blocks covering about 31,000 sq. km off-shore.

Benin basin comprises eight blocks of 11,000 sq. km on-shore, and eight blocks of 16,000 sq. km off shore.

Anambra, Chad and Benue troughs were divided into seven blocks over 18,000 sq. km, 46 blocks over 114,500 sq. km. and 41 blocks over 35,000 sq. km. respectively.

The minister, in an address presented by the director-general of the Petroleum Resources Ministry, Mr. Gilbert Chikelu, confirmed that five out of the seven basins the country had, were yet to be extensively explored.

The minister said that the government decided to make the basins available for exploration to "increase our proven oil reserves from current level of 16 billion barrels to 20 billion barrels by 1995."

He said that although every effort was being made by the government to diversify the economy, petroleum would for the foreseeable future continue to contribute significantly to national development.

In recognition of this, Aminu said, the government would continue to review existing incentives, among which was the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that guaranteed the oil companies a minimum of two dollars per barrel of oil produced, as and when necessary, to ensure the attractiveness of investment in the Nigerian petroleum sector.

Meanwhile, Nigeria's daily crude oil production peaked at two million barrels at the beginning of this month, representing about 18.8 percent rise over the country's official daily production quota of 1.611 million barrels.

The rise in output, is in consonance with OPEC's agreement reached late last August, which allowed member-countries that have the productive capacities to exceed their official quotas until the Iraq/Kuwait imbroglio, began since August 2, lasts.

Senegal

Evacuees Return From Liberia via Guinea

AB0611140490 Dakar PANA in English
1238 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Dakar, 6 Nov. (PANA)—About 100 Senegalese evacuees arrived in Dakar on Monday from war-torn Liberia on board a French military aircraft from Guinea. The refugees were said to have been evacuated from Liberia initially in a vessel, Santa Rita, sent to the troubled country by the French Government to help render assistance to foreign nationals in the war-stricken West African country.

On the Liberian situation, informed sources say the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peace-keeping force has continued its offensive against the main rebel group led by Charles Taylor at the week-end. They said the offensive aims at reducing the strong positions of

Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia to force him to surrender or accept a negotiated settlement of the 11-month-old civil war.

According to the daily, the ECOWAS force, led by the ECOMOG field commander, Nigerian Maj. Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro, had recently met feeble resistance from Taylor's forces. Some of his rebel troops are also known to have crossed the borders into neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire, the source said.

* Government Policy Leaves Education 'Adrift'

91AF0031B Dakar FAGARU in French Sep 90 p 4

[Article by Pape Amadou]

[Text] In July 1984 when, after about three years of intense study and research work, the National Commission on Education and Training Reform (CNREF) presented its conclusions to the government, all the participants in the States General of Education and Training (EGEF) who genuinely supported the consensus that emerged from that historic session in regard to the Senegalese school had the hope—a legitimate one—to finally see our system of education and training healed of its "congenital malformation." Six years later, it must be concluded that the school envisaged by the EGEF is still not a reality. The third session of the CNECS (National Commission for Coordination, Study and Follow-Up of the States General) held 29, 30, and 31 May 1989 recognized, in effect, that "on conclusion of the study carried out in both plenary session and committees, it is apparent that five years after the presentation of the CNREF conclusions, the reform has not yet been effectively applied. Certainly, some actions have been undertaken in the context of the existing education system, but their scope remains limited, so that the commission does not perceive overall consistency in these actions as a whole in relation to the reform process." That is to say, the "new school" that is replacing the school envisaged by the EGEF perpetuates—under poor cosmetics—the evils previously denounced, not counting those born of the education policy imposed by the money powers, the World Bank in particular. Thus, despite thundering demagogic statements to the liking of the government authorities and certain circles that they have co-opted, the practices and results are depressing: the Senegalese school continues to go irremediably adrift.

From an informed observer's viewpoint, the game began to get off course with the publication on 18 January 1985 of the government opinion on the CNREF conclusions. The pertinence and coherence of the latter made it difficult to take a stand of refusal or rejection toward them. As a result, the public authorities had no choice but to endorse the basic points of these conclusions.

The Retouchings

However, by means of skillfully presented "retouchings" and innuendoes such as "the policy of our resources," one could expect some deviations, to say nothing of

reservations. As soon as he was appointed in 1984, the minister of education at the time, found on his desk "instructions" from the World Bank, including one to eliminate or at least considerably weaken the teachers' trade union movement to facilitate passing measures to void the content of the EGEF conclusions, or simply to take the opposite position.

Thus, exploiting his past as a trade union leader, Iba Der played a substantial role in the split that occurred in the United Democratic Trade Union Federation of Senegalese Teachers (SUDES), a split that was to complete the splintering of the teachers' trade union movement (happily in the process of reconstruction with the formation after May 1990 of the Federation of Education and Research).

From this moment, there began a witch hunt: all those who in a spirit of follow-up had criticized the government education policy. And there was a stream of antidemocratic measures: setting up of a "red file" by the minister's office, reassignments and suspensions of teachers on the basis of trade union opposition, prohibitions of trade union meetings, etc.

At the same time, measures presented as being outcomes of the EGEF conclusions were applied. Among others, substitution of the concept of double flow and/or multigrade classes for the half-time concept. By so doing, in the name of including children without schools, the government in reality initiated a two-speed system: the double flow and multigrade classes, located mainly in the working class districts and rural areas, are mostly of inferior level, education for the disadvantaged.

As part of the same program, pilot classes will be established. They are intended as experimental sites for the new elementary education programs. However, the "haste" with which they are being established, without all the preparations necessary for any teaching innovation of this type, cannot promise thorough results. And, without going far wrong, one can suspect the conclusions of the "evaluation" to be followed by affirmation of the relative superiority of students from these pilot classes compared to those from the "traditional" classes.

Instead of a genuine reevaluation of the teaching function, the government, in order to further blunt the ardor of the teachers ranks in a struggle for better conditions of existence, mounted the horse of "morale reevaluation." The teachers bitterly discovered the "bluff." Later, Iba Der himself understood that he had been more or less "used" by Abdou Diouf before being rejected as an unclean (see interview of Iba Der Thiam in SUD HEBDO).

And then came Ibrahima Niang, who readily proclaimed himself "minister of the school desks" (in fact, the deficiency is still there and even increasing). The ad hoc measures, laxness, and incoherence of action continue. The school is becoming more and more sick.

Thus, as one can see, not only have the EGEF conclusions been "revised" (in the wrong direction), but also even the "revised copy" has not been correctly implemented, as several commissions of the third CNECS confirm:

- Commission of Reform Implementation Strategy: "The discussions on the report of this commission have stressed the considerable confirmed delay in issuing the guiding law," let alone the "reservations" in regard to certain experiments (double-flow classes, multigrade classes, pilot classes);
- Teaching Innovations Commission: "It appears that no decisive step has yet been taken on these issues" (national languages, religious education, moral and civic education, multisubject teaching, special education);
- Resources Commission: "The government continues to run the school with the usual resources. If these deficiencies persist, it goes without saying that it is the future of the school that is threatened."

Why the EGEF Encore?

In view of all this and knowing that the 45 "recommendations" of the third CNECS are for the most part still in limbo, one may well wonder why the hurry of the new education minister, Djibo Ka, to want to convene new EGEFs (first planned for July 1990 then postponed until the beginning of 1990)? On the face of it, one cannot reject EGEFs. Also, the third CNECS favored the holding of national debates as soon as possible; but under conditions of continuity, more thorough development of the major directions already established by the 1981 sessions toward "defining in a rigorous way the implementation strategy that would combine the struggle against the delays and impediments with the struggle to eliminate any form of haste."

In fact, perhaps this is the self-inflation factor—linking his name to organization of the second EGEF, and Djibo Ka's objective is to establish a new frame of reference. To be plain, he must legitimize, through public opinion and the education protagonists, the measures recommended by the World Bank, while posing other criteria (the EGEF's of 1981 irritated the government authorities). For in the meanwhile, the government had laid down its cards and announced trumps: the people must henceforth bear the major portion of education expenses. In this connection, the priority, or one might even say the exclusive attention, of the state will be toward elementary education (see president of the Republic "directives" to the minister of education for 1990-1991). In future, the public authorities will guarantee education (and what education?) only up to the second year of the middle course. Only those with substantial financial resources will be able to go on to secondary education, which will be more and more privatized. As for higher education, it will be more or less ruled out, because according to the World Bank it is like a luxury for a country such as Senegal.

Teachers unions, pupils, students, and parents of students must realize that the school is also in the sights of the SAP (Structural Adjustment Program). That which has dismantled our industrial and agricultural fabric will definitely not spare education, unless people oppose it in a firm and rational way.

* Presence of French Press Criticized

91AF0031A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
24-30 Aug 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Chronicle" by Abdou Sou: "Trial Exhibits"]

[Text] During a recent joint press conference, the principal editors of Senegalese private newspapers vigorously denounced the control of French companies over such sensitive sectors as distribution, advertising, and printing. Hachette, Havas, and Hersant have divided up the cake. The two former are old acquaintances. Generations of Africans have learned to read French in textbooks published by Hachette. The monopoly of radio and written medium advertising has long been a private preserve of Havas, as well the travel agencies.

As for the latest comer, it is also the most fastidious. This is the Hersant Group, which initially controlled the French regional press before grabbing several major Parisian titles, including LE FIGARO, FRANCE-SOIR, L'AUREOLE, PARIS-TURF, etc. According to 1985 statistics, 20 percent of the French read Hersant Group publications. This figure must surely be increased in view of the extraordinary concentration of titles the company has succeeded in assembling. Today, this voracious group has helped itself to Nouvelles Imprimeries du Senegal (NIS), which handles printing of the main Senegalese papers of the private and government press. The resulting situation is full of dangers.

First, because by its technical capabilities which are unique in Senegal and, it is said, even in the subregion, NIS is a linchpin of the structure that is to lead our country to true democracy. Leaving this infrastructure in the hands of the press buccaneers is really a scandal. Second, because there is something morally unacceptable in this grab, which occurred after Senegalese journalists had established a press for their country and created a market by force of persistence and sacrifices. Now that the machine is rolling, the buccaneers are rushing to board NIS, which is to a degree the heart of this vast enterprise. Their victory is even easier because their coveted target was in bad condition due to faulty management. Also because the state of Senegal has decided to play dead since it declared itself an unpretentious state. This is a serious lethargy that lets the wolves get into the sheepfold.

Indeed, one would have to be criminally naive to think for a single moment that the Hersant Group will be satisfied to operate the presses for others, even if this activity brings them substantial profits. This company's vocation is not to operate printing plants, but to create

newspapers—rarely, and to buy financially sick newspapers—more often. The ogre must be salivating with pleasure. The main titles of the Senegalese private press make no secret of the countless difficulties they are facing. Sales do not cover costs, because as everyone knows the price of a newspaper today is a subsidized price, with the difference having to be made up by advertising income. However, in Senegal this manna is exclusively reserved for the governmental press, and the private papers are in danger of suffocation. Hence the macabre saraband that the takeover professionals are performing around them—professionals who, for the moment, are pretending to disdainfully turn aside from what is actually the object of their desire.

It is not at all unreasonable to foresee some Senegalese titles passing into control of the Hersant Group if they permit themselves to be tempted by big money offers. A vision of horror: to read the name of that company in the masthead of this or that one of our dailies of which it has become publisher. That would not be all. Hersant, an oft-criticized henchman of the most reactionary ideas of the French right wing, would not hesitate an instant to change the line of papers falling under its control to make them faithful representatives of certain French interests, whose defense today calls for great hostility toward the forces of progress and breaking with neocolonial exploitation. Then it would certainly be forbidden to be ironic about the stupidity of Mr. Chirac—toward whom the entire Hersant press expresses profound respect, even when he speaks idiocies about the unsuitability of Africans for democratic pluralism—or express anger at the racist foolishness of Mr. Le Pen.

Things are very clear: if the public authorities do not react in time to check the intrusion of French profiteering in the Senegalese press, one will see how a poorly understood liberalism can kill liberty in this country. Also, the private press is not the only one threatened. Hachette and Havas have already recorded a long tradition of controlling outlying radios in France. Hersant, which failed in its attempt to buy TFI, finally succeeded in obtaining a strong capital share of the French television La 5. (In regard to this network, two months ago LE CANARD ENCHAINE and L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI published reports revealing that the network paid Le Pen skinheads to massacre several undesirable immigrants in camera view. The unlucky person fallen upon by the racist horde and the scoopseekers of La 5 was Karim Diallo. He was mauled with spiked boots before being run over by the shock reporters' car. Moral: wherever Hersant goes people are crushed.) Senegalese radio-television is thus also in the predators' sights. And it is certainly not by chance that the latter are strengthening their position in our country at the moment when the inauguration of Horizon Channel will open a first breach in the monopoly thus far exercised by the state over the electronic media. Thus, no need to expound on the vital importance of communication in this ultra-media world. Nevertheless, it is revealing that the French are returning in a mad rush to position themselves in the

former African colonies. And that they are specifically choosing the media sector, at a time when Paris is choking with anger at the Anglo-American expansion into the French media realm. This trend will strengthen when the Europe of 1993 arrives, when mastodons like the German Springer and British Maxwell will have full scope to impose on the editors of French papers the same tribulations that the latter are today inflicting on the Senegalese press. Moreover, in all likelihood, it is in anticipation of this fateful collision that this takeover of certain pillars and infrastructures in Africa is being carried out. If this works in Senegal, the experiment will spread like an oil spot to other countries of the continent. Following them will perhaps come the insurance companies—the banks have already started—and other sectors of the French economy that could not survive in the pitiless jungle that the single European market will become. Africa will be their fallback area.

France never left its colonies. It takes them aboard on the great Francophone crusade, binds them in innumerable bodies that are more or less distorted, the defense

and cooperation agreements, and drags them every two years to the degrading France-Africa summits. All this to keep intact the solid ties of suzerainty despite flamboyant speeches about national sovereignty. If you want further proof, this is it: still circulating in countries of the West African Monetary Union are 10-franc coins dated 1956 with the image of Mariane wearing a laurel crown. On it one reads the words: Republique Francaise. These are really the trial exhibits that prove a certain continuity, in which Hersant and ilk install themselves quite naturally to pillage our countries.

Reportage on President Diouf's Visit to Egypt

WA0511190590

For reportage on the visit by President Abdou Diouf and his wife to Egypt, please see the Egypt section of the 5 November Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

13 Nov 1990

